

AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW

Cooley: A Perspective

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Urban Social Area Indexes

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COOLEY: A PERSPECTIVE

ROBERT GUTMAN
Rutgers University

WHEN *Human Nature and the Social Order*¹ was first published, in 1902, the reviewer for the *American Journal of Sociology* said of it: "The volume is something of an anomaly in sociological literature, but it is none the less welcome for its very non-conformity."² One has only to go back to the works of the most influential of Cooley's contemporaries, particularly Ward and Giddings, to understand what the reviewer meant. These sociologists were obsessed by questions about the province and proper subject-matter of sociology; about the relation of sociology to the other social sciences; and about the essential principle of human society which distinguished it from animal life. Their writings, especially those of Ward, were voluminous, and packed with complex but not very arresting formulations designed to answer these questions. Whatever good ideas they had were hidden beneath a cloak of obscure expressions and concepts. It is hard to find passages in their books which communicate any sense of the America in which they lived. Although both Ward and Giddings,

but particularly the latter, advocated the importance of social research, their own activities fitted the stereotype of the "arm-chair" sociologist.

In spirit and intent, Cooley's work was different. Where Ward and Giddings were systematic, he was casual. His talents as a writer outshone even his ability as an observer and thinker. Cooley's books are concerned with behavior in the full range of human societies, but nevertheless one gains from them considerable insight into the structure of the family, the role of children, the place of the church and the personalities of businessmen in the America of his day. Compared to the number of Ward's and Giddings' publications, Cooley's writings are few. The two works recently reprinted, with the addition of *Social Process*, published in 1918, are the only full-length books he wrote.³

Many of the questions which so bothered his contemporaries in American sociology were of no importance to Cooley; or if they did interest him, his answers to them were usually different from those given by Ward and Giddings. Cooley believed that the subject-matter of sociology was either "personal intercourse considered in its primary aspects—the development of human nature—or in its secondary aspects, such as groups, institutions and processes." To this state-

¹ A revised edition of this book was published in 1922. This edition, and *Social Organization*, Cooley's second major work originally published in 1909, have recently been reprinted in a single volume: *The Two Major Works of Charles H. Cooley*, Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1956. Robert Cooley Angell has contributed an introduction to the volume.

² George E. Vincent, Review of "Human Nature and the Social Order," *American Journal of Sociology*, 8 (January, 1903), pp. 559-563.

³ Although published as a book, *Life and the Student* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1927), is a collection of comments from Cooley's journals.

ment, as if to indicate his disdain for the fashion of indulging in elaborate definitions of sociology, he added the following sentence: "Sociology, I suppose, is the science of these things."⁴ The disdain which Cooley felt for these efforts of his contemporaries arose from his conviction that social life was so rich in problems and phenomena calling for observation and comment that it was a waste of energy to worry about defining what *ought* to be studied. His relation to society and to sociology was spontaneous.

Cooley often thought about the relation of sociology to the other social sciences, and his answers always were revealed in studies of specific problems. Giddings would speculate about whether sociology was a special social science or a generalized science under which all the other social disciplines should be subsumed; Cooley would write an essay criticizing some of the preconceptions of economic analysis.⁵ He never tried to defend the existence of sociology as an autonomous discipline. The gap between Cooley and his contemporaries in this respect probably had two sources. Giddings and Ward—and others—modeled their image of sociology on the natural sciences: it was important for them to show that the logic of the sociological approach was comparable to these sciences. Although Cooley's graduate training was in economics, he inclined toward the humanities and measured the achievement of sociology in terms of its superiority to purely literary analysis. From the beginning of his teaching career, Cooley felt accepted by his academic colleagues. Ward, however, suffered considerable personal privation before becoming established as a sociologist; and Giddings, even after he was invited in 1894 to fill the first chair in sociology at Columbia, was involved in persistent struggles to build up his department against the opposition of colleagues in the other social sciences.

Ward and Giddings grew up in a milieu in which Social Darwinism was the dominant intellectual force. In Ward's case this

orientation was accentuated by the fact that he began professional life as a paleobotanist. Neither one of these men was ever able to overcome these early influences, in the sense that both continued to use biological concepts and both felt one of the crucial tests of sociology was the extent to which social life could be explained without recourse to biology. Their personal intellectual histories, in other words, help to explain why both Ward and Giddings were so obsessed by the need to discover the essence of social organization which distinguished it from animal life. Cooley never could become interested in this problem—in part, because he identified himself with literary figures and philosophers, but also because his thought, like that of his teacher at the University of Michigan, John Dewey, sprang from philosophical idealism. Once Giddings isolated what he believed to be the essential principle of human society—"consciousness of kind"—he tended to use derivations of this concept to account for cultural variability. To Cooley, this was an illustration of "particularism" which, he said, "consists in attending to only one factor in a complex whole."⁶ Cooley considered "particularism" one of the major intellectual fallacies of sociological analysis and his criticism of it became increasingly intense.

Would Cooley still be an anomaly among sociologists if he were alive and writing today? I believe he would, but for other qualities of his work than those which distinguished him from his contemporaries. Cooley was a deviant because he eschewed those questions about the nature of sociology that obsessed Ward and Giddings. But in our time most sociologists would agree with Cooley's view of these issues, and scholars who share the concerns which dominated Ward and Giddings are the exceptions. Sociologists have resolved the question of their proper subject-matter. In part, they have achieved this resolution by studying social institutions which are largely ignored by the older social sciences, like the family, the church and the social stratification system; and, in part, because they now attend to the myriad problems of social life which emerged with mass democracy and

⁴ *Human Nature and the Social Order*, New York: Charles Scribner, 1922, revised edition, p. 135. The italics are mine.

⁵ Cf. "Political Economy and Social Process" in *Sociological Theory and Social Research, Being Selected Papers of Charles H. Cooley*, New York: Henry Holt, 1930.

⁶ *Human Nature and the Social Order*, revised edition, p. 26.

bureaucratic organization, such as minority group relations, primary groups, and leadership and communication. Incidentally, many of these problems were first discussed in American sociological literature by Cooley. The concentration of sociological research on problems not dealt with by the other social sciences has made it easier for sociologists to ignore the question of the relation of sociology to economics, to politics and to history. Furthermore, much of the sociological perspective has been incorporated into economics and political science. Given these conditions, it seems irrelevant to raise the issue whether sociology is a special or a general social science. In fact, Talcott Parsons, who is probably the most eminent of present-day social theorists, asserts a view which represents the extreme opposite to that of Ward and Giddings. He suggests not only that sociology is a special science, but it is so special that it deals with a single component of social institutions. Neither is it any longer incumbent upon the sociologist to defend his view that human society is so different from animal society that a separate discipline is required to deal with it. Sociology is too well established within the universities for such an argument to make any headway. And, of course, there have been changes in the general intellectual climate. Especially since World War II, Americans have rebelled against that kind of biological determinism and materialism which were such important influences on ideas and social action in the United States, beginning with the period of the Social Darwinists. The orientation of the intellectual *avant-garde* is now more sympathetic to a religious view of life, in which man is defined as unique among the animals and close to God. Paradoxical as it may seem, I believe that sociology has gained a certain support from this development, in so far as it now is assumed that human behavior cannot be explained in the same terms as animal life.

What would be the sources of Cooley's anomalous status were he alive today? There is, for example, his lack of faith in the prospects for building a rigorous social science. He believed that "the dramatic and intuitive perceptions that underlie social knowledge are so individual, so subjective, that we cannot expect that men will be

able to agree upon them or build them up into an increasing structure of ascertained truth."⁷ There are many critics of sociology who would subscribe to this statement. So would those who regard sociology as an offshoot of the humanities or who identify themselves with social reform movements. Among the leaders of the profession, however, or among the younger generation trained at the main centers of graduate education, it would be hard to find anyone willing publicly to espouse such a view.

Cooley's rejection of the prospects of a rigorous sociology is reflected in his limited capacities as a theoretician. It was comparatively difficult for him to set forth a theoretical view, then to sustain and elaborate it, and finally to carry it through to completion. As Cooley grew older, he became increasingly unable to think in this way. In *Human Nature and the Social Order*, for instance, he sustains a single idea for the duration of a chapter of thirty to forty pages. When *Social Organization* was written, only seven years later, his thoughts took on the quality of meditations—to such an extent that a contemporary reviewer spoke of the book as a compilation of "notes." By the time *Social Process* was published, in 1918, this character of his mind had become more marked; it is therefore the most uneven and disappointing work in Cooley's trilogy.

Cooley's view of the nature of social theory coincided with his inability to sustain theoretical argumentation. He believed that the great danger with theory was that it would become too remote from life itself. Too much of social theory, Cooley felt, was like an argument by analogy: this was the principal reason why he distrusted Spencer's work. He accused Spencer of lacking "direct and authentic perception of the structure and movement of human life."⁸ As Cooley put it: "To think well one must know how to reconcile system with spontaneity."⁹

It is necessary only to read the work of Parsons to appreciate how far Cooley's view is from the temper of theoretical activity in American sociology today. For Parsons, abstract ideas seem as much the real stuff with

⁷ *Sociological Theory and Social Research*, p. 296.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 269.

⁹ *Life and the Student*, p. 116.

which the imagination works as were day-to-day events and concrete experiences for Cooley. Parsons exhibits no difficulty or embarrassment in setting forth a concept without offering a single illustration of it, then elaborating and reformulating the concept with infinite variations, again without giving the concept empirical content. Parsons is a true virtuoso of abstraction: almost every paragraph of *The Social System* is an interminable cadenza; with the instrument, Parsons' mind, and the score, the theory of action. This makes the reading of Parsons a tiring and often irritating task, although one cannot help but be amazed by the unusual talent for pure ratiocination which is being displayed. To relieve the irritation one must, in reading Parsons, do what is never necessary in reading Cooley, since Cooley does it for us: namely, to fill in the conceptual "boxes" with images of specific events or persons. This means that even those of Cooley's books which are longer in pages than Parsons' take less time to read and understand.¹⁰

The view of the nature of theory which is held by contemporary American sociologists mirrors their use of pure ratiocination. For many among them, theory can be constructed without resort to facts, except at the beginning of the process of theory-building, and again toward the end, when the generalization itself, or the hypotheses deduced from the theory, must be verified. There is a long intervening period during which new concepts and hypotheses can be formulated or deduced without so much as a glance toward the real world. This approach to theory building has become possible because of advances in the field of symbolic logic and mathematics which were unknown in Cooley's time.

Who among our contemporaries would say, as Cooley did, that "in endowment, Goethe was almost the ideal sociologist?"¹¹ Sociologists may not scorn literature and the arts—in the United States one is more likely

to find humanists detesting sociology, since sociologists are taking over many of the functions once performed by teachers of literature in American society; but relatively few sociologists will feel they have much to learn about their problems from reading novels. Not so with Cooley. Colleagues calling at his home, especially during the last decade of his life, were "more likely to find him reading a French novel, or a book of literary criticism, art, travel or biography than a contemporary volume from the most recent sociological series."¹² Certainly, almost no sociologist uses the man of letters as his reference-group in the way that Cooley compared himself with Goethe, Emerson and Thoreau. A volume of extracts from Cooley's journals, published in 1927, two years before he died, includes numerous short commentaries on various historical figures, but not a single sociologist is discussed. He mentions one person who could be considered a social scientist, Tocqueville, and then only if the definition of the discipline is extended far beyond its currently acceptable limits. The leaders of American sociology are no longer withdrawn, reflective men, likely to spend their whole lives, as Cooley did, in small university towns like the Ann Arbor of the 1890s. They are often men of action, planning complicated projects, supervising large staffs, expending vast sums of money, and consulting with industrialists and leaders in trade unions and government. If they do live in university communities, these are now cities. Ann Arbor today has a population of over 50,000.

The aspects of Cooley's work which distinguishes it most clearly from contemporary American sociology are, of course, the research techniques which he used for collecting data and the kinds of data on which he based his theoretical statements. In Cooley's earliest writings, such as his first published article—a study of the ecology of street railways—and his doctoral dissertation submitted to the University of Michigan in 1894—called "The Theory of Transportation"—he made use of printed statistics which had been gathered by government officials in the course of their regular duties.

¹⁰ Riesman puts it another way. Referring to *The Social System*, he writes: "... the book would be shorter if it were longer in pages." David Riesman, "The Fitness of The Social System," *Psychiatry*, 15 (November, 1952), p. 480.

¹¹ Quoted in George H. Mead, "Cooley's Contribution to Social Thought," *American Journal of Sociology*, 35 (March, 1930), p. 694.

¹² Author E. Wood, "Charles H. Cooley: An Appreciation," *American Journal of Sociology*, 35 (March, 1930), p. 702.

Later on, when he was accumulating material with which to compose *Human Nature and the Social Order*, Cooley undertook some systematic observations of his own children, sitting near them and noting their behavior, in order to record the growth of their self-conceptions. These "data"—statistical documents, observations of children or students, and especially his omnivorous reading of poems, autobiographies, essays and journals—constituted the principal sources of his ideas. So far as we know, he never attempted the type of research that defines American sociology today, which accumulates a wide range of original data through community studies, social surveys, and the like. One has the impression, however, that were Cooley alive now he would be attracted by many of the advances in research techniques of the last two decades, especially the use of participant observation. He would probably also sympathize with the intent of social surveys, even though he might advise us to beware of the project director who relied upon the reports of his interviewers and who did not go into the field himself to encounter his subjects face-to-face. Cooley was known to have made remarks in private scornful of statistics, to condemn the method as dealing only with "the outside of life." In his academic papers one finds that his appraisal of statistics is more judicious: he appreciated the control over data which it afforded. But he demanded that a sociologist, when citing results obtained through the use of the statistical method, should not forget to ask: "What does it mean?" Cooley added this qualification for the same reason that he would suspect the project director who was a "desk-chair" sociologist. He felt strongly that the only reliable kind of social knowledge is that which captured life in its full wholeness, as it was lived. Cooley's imaginative powers were so remarkable that he was able to sense this wholeness by reading books and reflecting on the common everyday experiences of himself, his family, his friends and students. There are interpreters of Cooley who have suggested that his reliance on books and personal impressions sprang from ideological commitment. A careful reading of his work shows otherwise. The source of his approach was rather the unique

quality of mind and personality which enabled him to be creative without the panoply of data and techniques characteristic of sociology today.

If Cooley is so different from us, why do we bother to read him? Why does a leading publisher reprint two of Cooley's books, one issued first in 1902 and the other in 1909? Cooley's ideas are part of the living tradition of sociological thought. As sophisticated as sociologists may be, we cannot free ourselves entirely from an atavistic concern for the sources of our intellectual being. It is naturally interesting to read the original versions of ideas we now accept, such as the concept of the "looking-glass self," first discussed in *Human Nature and the Social Order*; or the concept of the "primary group," which Cooley presents early in the text of *Social Organization*. Our interest is multiplied when we discover that some of the ideas we associate with Cooley's name do not, in fact, appear in his works; for instance, that he nowhere uses the term secondary group or secondary relationship, although today the concept of primary group is never discussed apart from these ideas.¹³

Cooley's interest for us, however, is much more than historical. His work possesses an immediacy which transcends the fifty year period that separates us from him. He did not build up a special language and the words he uses evoke sentiments of sympathy in his readers at the same time that his thoughts prod our intellects. And he is almost contemporary in his concern with the decline of individualism in American life, the difficulties involved in maintaining primary ideals such as loyalty in a bureaucratized society, the strains on individual personalities produced by mass organizations, and the disorganization of family life.

Possibly Cooley's greatest achievement was to have anticipated in numerous details modern sociological theory. In general, when we review the sources of structure-functional analysis, we tend to recognize only its Euro-

¹³ In his graduate seminars Cooley did discuss groups which were non-primary but even there apparently he did not use the label "secondary." Cf. Edwin C. Jandy, *Charles Horton Cooley: His Life and His Social Theory*, New York: Dryden Press, 1942, p. 178.

pean antecedents, particularly Weber and Durkheim and sometimes Malinowski. Yet it seems to me that Cooley is often much closer to this tradition than any sociologist of the generations before Parsons and Merton. Cooley never doubted the reality of social facts, yet in regarding society as an independent entity he managed to avoid many of the pitfalls to which such a view often leads. In contrast to Durkheim, for instance, Cooley early pointed out the dangers of reifying social facts and he explicitly separated himself from those who believed in a "collective conscience." Nor did Cooley fall prey to the kind of psychological functionalism which Malinowski adopted in his last theoretical writings. At several places in the trilogy—*Human Nature and the Social Order*, *Social Organization* and *Social Process*—Cooley asserts the usefulness of the organic view of society, in contending against the fallacy of "particularism." But while advocating this view, he points to all the difficulties involved if one interprets the organic analogy literally. As he matured, and in spite of his personal identification with the artist rather than the scientist, Cooley became more and more committed to the sociological perspective. In *Social Process* one discovers that

Cooley, whose first book was about human nature and the individual, now regards the person as a category of sociological analysis. The person, he says, is "the most evident differentiation in the process of human life."¹⁴ With quiet power, he used this approach to analyze questions which in recent years have become key issues occupying the attention of professional sociologists—What is the role of social structure in maintaining religious ideas? How important are bureaucracy, on the one hand, and primary group ideals, on the other, in creating social cohesion? What are the functions for society, and what are the functions for the individual, of family organization? Under what conditions is class-consciousness likely to arise in a stratification system ordinarily characterized by open classes? What are the relative merits of inheritance and competition as mechanisms for recruiting men into the occupational hierarchy of a society?

In this list of subjects which still engage us we can perhaps see why Cooley was an anomaly in his own time: it is because he speaks so directly to ours.

¹⁴ *Social Process*, New York: Charles Scribner, 1925, p. 55.

A GENERAL TYPOLOGY OF MIGRATION *

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MOST studies of international migration are focused on the movement from or to one particular country, and virtually all of the other, somewhat broader works are concerned with a single historical era. Moreover, the emphasis is usually on description rather than analysis, so that the theoretical framework into which these limited data are fitted is ordinarily rather primitive. In this paper, an attempt is made to bring together into one typology some of the more significant analyses of both

internal and international migration, as a step toward a general theory of migration.

The best known model for the analysis of migration is the typology constructed some years ago by Fairchild.¹ He classifies

¹ Henry Pratt Fairchild, *Immigration: A World Movement and Its American Significance*, Rev. edition, New York: Macmillan, 1925, pp. 13 ff. In spite of the fact that it has all the faults of a pioneer effort, this classification has been adopted uncritically in several other works on the subject. See, for example, Maurice R. Davie, *World Immigration with Special Reference to the United States*, New York: Macmillan, 1949, pp. 2-3; Julius Isaac, *Economics of Migration*, London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner, 1947, p. 1. The most recent and in many respects the best text in the field takes over Fairchild's four types and adds a fifth, com-

* An earlier version of this paper was presented at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Society, Washington, D. C., August, 1957. It was written as a chapter of a volume on population to be published in 1959.

migration into *invasion*, of which the Visigoth sack of Rome is given as the best example; *conquest*, in which "the people of higher culture take the aggressive;" *colonization*, when "a well established, progressive, and physically vigorous state" settles "newly discovered or thinly settled countries;" and *immigration*, or the individually motivated, peaceful movement between well established countries "on approximately the same stage of civilization." That is to say, Fairchild uses, more or less clearly, two main criteria as his axes—the difference in level of culture and whether or not the movement was predominantly peaceful. His four types, thus, can be represented schematically as follows:

Migration from	Migration to	Peaceful Movement	Warlike Movement
Low culture	High culture		Invasion
High culture	Low culture	Colonization	Conquest
Cultures on a level		Immigration	

Reducing the implicit underlying structure to this schematic form has the immediate advantage of indicating its incompleteness. Two types are lacking from the classification,² although they are well represented in history.

Such a paradigm, moreover, suggests even more strongly than the dozen pages of text

pulsory migration; see Donald R. Taft and Richard Robbins, *International Migrations: The Immigrant in the Modern World*, New York: Ronald Press, 1955, pp. 19–20.

Several other discussions are decidedly better than Fairchild's, though not nearly so well known. I found two particularly stimulating—Rudolf Heberle, "Theorie der Wanderungen: Sociologische Betrachtungen," *Schmollers Jahrbuch*, LXXV:1 (1955); and Ragnar Numelin, *The Wandering Spirit: A Study of Human Migration*, London: Macmillan, 1937. See also Howard Becker, "Forms of Population Movement: Prolegomena to a Study of Mental Mobility," *Social Forces*, 9 (December, 1930), pp. 147–160 and 9 (March, 1931), pp. 351–361.

² It is patent that this omission was not intentional; this is not an example of what Lazarsfeld terms "reduction"—that is, the collapsing of a formally complete typology in order to adjust it to reality. See Paul F. Lazarsfeld, "Some Remarks on the Typological Procedures in Social Science," mimeographed translation of an article that appeared originally in *Zeitschrift für Sozialforschung*, vol. VI, 1937.

it summarizes that the two axes are not the best that could have been chosen. An attempt to distinguish between "high" and "low" cultures is an invitation to ethnocentrism, which Fairchild does not always avoid. The contrast between "progressive" England and "newly discovered" India, for example, can hardly be termed a scientific analysis of *colonization*. Similarly, Rome's *conquest* of her empire was not merely the migration of a people of higher culture: much of Rome's culture was adapted from that of conquered Greece. Nor is the distinction between "peaceful" and "warlike" always an unambiguous one. Colonization is ordinarily neither one nor the other;³ and the Visigoths' *invasion* of Rome, Fair-

child's main example of this type, was predominantly a peaceful interpenetration of the two cultures, accomplished (as Fairchild points out) over more than two centuries.⁴

³ According to Fairchild, "while the resistance of the natives may be so weak as to make the enterprise hardly a military one, yet colonization is carried on without the consent, and against the will, of the original possessors of the land, and is, consequently, to be regarded rightly as a hostile movement. . . . [Moreover,] not infrequently the rivalry of two colonizing powers for some desirable locality may involve them in war with each other" (*op. cit.*, p. 19). In spite of this hedge, classifying *colonization* as "peaceful" is in accord with his main argument, for this is how he distinguishes it from *conquest*.

⁴ On the one side, Germans were taken into the Roman army, granted land in the border regions and civil rights in the city; on the other side, after Wulfilas's translation of the Bible into Gothic, Roman culture made deep inroads among the Germans through their conversion to Christianity. The relation between the two cultures, therefore, was expressed not merely in a sharp confrontation on the field of battle, but also in the divided loyalties of marginal types. Alaric, leader of the Visigoths, was a romanized German, a former officer in the Roman army, a Christian; and Stilicho, the *de facto* emperor after Theodosius's death, was a German-Roman, a German by descent who had reached his high post through a successful army career. Alaric's purpose was not to overthrow Rome but, within the framework of the Empire,

This criticism of Fairchild's classification illustrates two general points: that it is useful to make explicit the logical structure of a typology, and that the criteria by which types are to be distinguished must be selected with care.

PSYCHOLOGICAL UNIVERSALS

Together with most other analysts of migration, Fairchild implies that man is everywhere sedentary, remaining fixed until he is impelled to move by some force. Like most psychological universals, this one can be matched by its opposite: man migrates because of wanderlust. And like all such universals, these cannot explain differential behavior: if all men are sedentary (or migratory) "by nature," why do some migrate and some not? If a simplistic metaphor is used, it should be at least as complex as its mechanical analogue, which includes not only the concept of forces but also that of inertia.

Thus one might better say that a social group at rest, or a social group in motion (e.g., nomads), tends to remain so unless impelled to change; for with any viable pattern of life a value system is developed to support that pattern. To analyze the migration of Gypsies, for example, in terms of push and pull is entirely inadequate—no better, in fact, than to explain modern Western migration, as Herbert Spencer did, in terms of "the restlessness inherited from ancestral nomads."⁵ If this principle of inertia is accepted as valid, then the difference between gathering and nomadic peoples, on the one hand, and agricultural and industrial peoples, on the other hand, is

to get land and increased pensions (!) for his followers; Stilicho's purpose, similarly, was not to oust the Visigoths, whom he sought as allies against Constantinople, but to keep them under control. The interpenetration of the two cultures, that is to say, was a complex and subtle process, not too different from the present-day acculturation of immigrant groups. That Alaric put pressure on the Senate by marching his army into Italy was not the characteristic of "a rude people, on a low stage of culture," but the time-honored mode of lobbying used by Roman generals. Historical studies substantiate this account of the facts; I have used principally J. B. Bury, *The Invasion of Europe by the Barbarians*, London: Macmillan, 1928.

⁵ Herbert Spencer, *The Principles of Sociology*, 3rd edition, New York: Appleton, 1892, I, p. 566.

fundamental with respect to migration. For once a people has a permanent place of residence, the relevance of push and pull factors is presumably much greater.

Sometimes the basic problem is not why people migrate but rather why they do not. The vast majority of American Negroes, for example, remained in the South until the First World War, in spite of the Jim Crow pattern and lynch law that developed there from the 1870's on and, as a powerful pull, the many opportunities available in the West and the burgeoning northern cities.⁶

If wanderlust and what might be termed *sitzlust* are not useful as psychological universals, they do suggest a criterion for a significant distinction. Some persons migrate as a means of achieving the new. Let us term such migration *innovating*. Others migrate in response to a change in conditions, in order to retain what they have had; they move geographically in order to remain where they are in all other respects. Let us term such migration *conservative*. When the migrants themselves play a passive role, as in the case of African slaves being transported to the New World, the migration is termed *innovating* or *conservative* depending on how it is defined by the activating agent, in this case the slave-traders.

The fact that the familiar push-pull polarity implies a universal sedentary quality, however, is only one of its faults. The push factors alleged to "cause" emigration ordinarily comprise a heterogeneous array, ranging from an agricultural crisis to the spirit of adventure, from the development of shipping to overpopulation. Few attempts are made to distinguish among underlying causes, facilitative environment, precipitants, and motives.⁷ In particular, if we fail to distinguish between emigrants' motives and the social causes of emigration—that is, if we do not take the emigrants' level of

⁶ See Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy*, New York: Harper, 1944, Chapter 8, for an extended discussion of this point. For an international example, see William Petersen, *Planned Migration*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1955, Chapter 3, which discusses the several factors in prewar Holland that seemingly should have induced a large emigration, but did not.

⁷ Cf. R. M. MacIver, *Social Causation*, Boston: Ginn, 1942.

aspiration into account—our analysis lacks logical clarity. Economic hardship, for example, can appropriately be termed a “cause” of emigration only if there is a positive correlation between hardship, however defined, and the propensity to migrate.⁸ Often the relation has been an inverse one; for example, the mass emigration from Europe in modern times developed together with a marked *rise* in the European standard of living. As has been shown by several studies, the correlation was rather with the business cycle in the receiving country,⁹ and even this relation explains fluctuations in the emigration rate more than its absolute level. Nor can the class differential in the rate of emigration be ascribed simply to economic differences. The middle class lived in more comfortable circumstances, but for many a move to America would have meant also a definite material improvement. During the period of mass emigration, however, this was stereotyped as lower-class behavior, as more than a bit unpatriotic for the well-to-do. For a middle-class person to emigrate meant a break with the established social pattern; therefore in the middle class, especially marginal types like idealists or black sheep left the country, and these for relevant *personal* reasons. Once a migration has reached the stage of a social movement, however, such personal motivations are generally of little interest.

This kind of confusion is not limited to economic factors. Religious oppression or the infringement of political liberty was often a *motive* for emigration from Europe, but before the rise of modern totalitarianism emigrants were predominantly from the

European countries least marked by such stigmata. An increasing propensity to emigrate spread east and south from Northwest Europe, together with democratic institutions and religious tolerance. Again, we are faced with the anomaly that those who emigrated “because” of persecution tended to come from countries where there was less than elsewhere.

When the push-pull polarity has been refined in these two senses, by distinguishing innovating from conservative migration and by including in the analysis the migrants’ level of aspiration, it can form the basis of an improved typology of migration. Five broad classes of migration, designated as primitive, forced, impelled, free, and mass, are discussed below.

PRIMITIVE MIGRATION

The first class of migration to be defined is that resulting from an ecological push, and we shall term this *primitive* migration. Here, then, primitive migration does not denote the wandering of primitive peoples as such, but rather a movement related to man’s inability to cope with natural forces. Since the reaction to a deterioration in the physical environment can be either remedial action or emigration, depending on the technology available to the people concerned, there is, however, a tendency for primitive migration in this narrower sense to be associated with primitive peoples.

Many of the treks of preindustrial folk seem, moreover, to have been conservative in the sense defined above. “There is often a tendency for [such] a migrating group to hold conservatively to the same type of environment; pastoral people, for example, attempt to remain on grasslands, where their accustomed life may be continued.”¹⁰ Such conservative migrations are set not by push and pull, but by the interplay of push and control. The route is shaped by both natural and man-made barriers: mountains, rivers, or rainfall or the lack of it; and the Great Wall of China or other, less monumental, evidences of hostility toward aliens. If they are indifferent about where they are going,

⁸ Similarly, no principled difference is usually made between what is sometimes termed “absolute overpopulation,” which results in hunger and starvation, and milder degrees of “overpopulation,” which reflect not physiological but cultural standards. In the first case the aspiration of emigrants can be ignored, for it is a bare physiological minimum that can be taken as universal; but in the second case it is the level of aspiration itself that defines the “overpopulation” and sets an impetus to emigrate.

⁹ Harry Jerome, *Migration and Business Cycles*, New York: National Bureau of Economic Research, 1926; Dorothy Swaine Thomas, *Social and Economic Aspects of Swedish Population Movements, 1750-1933*, New York: Macmillan, 1941, Chapter 9.

¹⁰ Roland B. Dixon, “Migrations, Primitive,” *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, New York: Macmillan, 1934, Vol. X, pp. 420-425.

men migrate as liquids flow, along the lines of least resistance. Conservative migrants seek only a place where they can resume their old way of life, and when this is possible they are content. Sometimes it is not possible, and any migration, therefore, may be associated with a fundamental change in culture.

The frequent designation for migrations of prehistoric primitives used to be "wandering of peoples," a translation from the German that, however inelegant, is nevertheless appropriate, for it denotes two of the characteristics that define it. For usually peoples as a whole migrate, not merely certain families or groups, and they leave without a definite destination, as "wander" implies in English. Let us, then, term migrations induced by ecological pressure as the *wandering of peoples*. Unintended movements over the ocean—an analogous type of primitive migration, which can be termed *marine wanderings*—have occurred more frequently than was once supposed.

There are countless examples . . . [of] more or less accidental wanderings from island to island over oceanic expanses of water, brought about by winds and currents. The space of time and extent of these voyages seem to play a subordinate part. Journeys covering 3,000 miles are not unusual. They may last six weeks or several months. Even without provisions the natives can get along, as they fish for their food and collect rain-water to drink.¹¹

Contemporary primitives also often move about in a way directly related to the low level of their material culture. A food-gathering or hunting people cannot ordinarily subsist from what is available in one vicinity; it must range over a wider area, moving either haphazardly or back and forth over its traditional territory. Such movements can be called *gathering*. The analogous type of migratory movements of cattle-owning peoples is called *nomadism*, from the Greek word meaning to graze. Gatherers and nomads together are termed *rangers*.

The way of life of rangers is to be on the move, and their culture is adapted to this state. Their home is temporary or portable; some Australian peoples have no word for

"home" in their language. Their value system adjudges the specific hardships of their life to be good; the contempt that the desert Arab feels for the more comfortable city Arab is traditional. Although their ordinary movement is usually over a restricted area, bounded by either physical barriers or peoples able to defend their territories, rangers are presumably more likely to migrate over longer distances (apart from differences in the means of transportation) simply because they are already in motion. Whether any particular nomad people settles down and becomes agricultural does not depend merely on geography. Geography determines only whether such a shift in their way of life is possible—it is barely feasible on the steppe, for example; but even when physical circumstances permit a change, the social pattern of ranging may be too strong to be broken down. The Soviet program of settling the Kirghiz and other nomad peoples on collective farms, for example, succeeded because it was implemented by sufficient terror to overcome their opposition.¹² That is to say, ranging, like wandering, is typically conservative.

A primitive migration of an agrarian population takes place when there is a sharp disparity between the produce of the land and the number of people subsisting from it. This can come about either suddenly, as by drought or an attack of locusts, or by the steady Malthusian pressure of a growing population on land of limited area and fertility. Persons induced to migrate by such population pressure can seek another agricultural site, but in the modern era the more usual destination has been a town: the migration has ordinarily been innovating rather than conservative. The Irish immigrants to the United States in the decades following the Great Famine, for example, resolutely ignored the Homestead Act and other inducements to settle on the land; in overwhelming proportion, they moved to the cities and stayed there. Let us term such an innovating movement *flight from*

¹¹ Numelin, *op. cit.*, pp. 180-181.

¹² For a documentation from two sources of divergent political views, see Rudolf Schlesinger, *The Nationalities Problem and Soviet Administration*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1956; Walter Kolarz, *The Peoples of the Soviet Far East*, New York: Praeger, 1954.

the land (again, an inelegant but useful translation from the German).

To recapitulate, primitive migration may be divided as follows:

Primitive	Wandering	Wandering of peoples
		Marine wandering
	Ranging	Gathering
		Nomadism
	Flight from the land	

These are the types of migration set by ecological push and controls, usually geographical but sometimes social.

FORCED AND IMPELLED MIGRATIONS

If in primitive migrations the activating agent is ecological pressure, in forced migrations it is the state or some functionally equivalent social institution. It is useful to divide this class into *impelled* migration, when the migrants retain some power to decide whether or not to leave, and *forced* migration, when they do not have this power. Often the boundary between the two, the point at which the choice becomes nominal, may be difficult to set. Analytically, however, the distinction is clearcut, and historically it is often so. The difference is real, for example, between the Nazis' policy (roughly 1933-38) of encouraging Jewish emigration by various anti-Semitic acts and laws, and the later policy (roughly 1938-45) of herding Jews into cattle-trains and transporting them to camps.

A second criterion by which we can delineate types of forced or impelled migration is its function, defined not by the migrant but by the activating agent. Persons may be induced to move simply to rid their homeland of them; such a migration, since it does not ordinarily bring about a change in the migrants' way of life, is analogous to conservative migration and can be subsumed under it. Others are induced to move in order that their labor power can be used elsewhere; and such a migration, which constitutes a shift in behavior patterns as well as in locale, is designated as innovating.

Four types are thus defined, as follows:

	Impelled	Forced
To be rid of migrants (conservative)	Flight	Displacement
To use migrants' labor (innovating)	Coolie trade	Slave trade

In all of human history, *flight* has been an important form of migration. Whenever a stronger people moves into a new territory, it may drive before it the weaker former occupants. The invasion of Europe during the early centuries of the Christian era thus was induced not only by the power vacuum resulting from the disintegration of the Roman Empire, but also by a series of successive pushes, originating from either the desiccation of the Central Asian steppes (Huntington) or the expansion of the Chinese empire still farther east (Teggart).¹³

Many more recent migrations have also been primarily a flight before invading armies.¹⁴ In modern times, however, those induced to flee have often been specific groups among the population, rather than everyone occupying a particular territory. Political dissidents, of course, always were ousted when they became a danger to state security; but with the growth of nationalism ethnic as well as political homogeneity has been sought. The right of national self-determination proclaimed by the Treaty of Versailles included no provision for the minorities scattered through Central Europe; and in the interwar period the League of Nations negotiated a series of population transfers designed to eliminate national minorities from adjacent countries or, more usually, to legitimate expulsions already effected.¹⁵ The separation of Pakistan from India, another example, was accompanied by one of the largest migrations in human history, in part induced by terrorist groups

¹³ Ellsworth Huntington, *Civilization and Climate*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1951; Frederick Teggart, *Rome and China: A Study of Correlations in Historical Events*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1939.

¹⁴ See, for example, Eugene M. Kulischer, *Europe on the Move*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1948.

¹⁵ Cf. Stephen P. Ladas, *The Exchange of Minorities: Bulgaria, Greece and Turkey*, New York: Macmillan, 1932, p. 721: "Both conventions [of Neuilly and Lausanne], and especially that of Lausanne, proved to be agreements confirming accomplished facts," and the Greek-Turkish exchange, while "voluntary in theory, became in fact to a great extent compulsory."

on both sides and in part arranged under official auspices.

It is useful to distinguish between two classes of those who have fled their homeland—*émigrés*, who regard their exile as temporary and live abroad for the day when they may return, and *refugees*, who intend to settle permanently in the new country. Under otherwise similar circumstances, the acculturation of the latter would presumably be much more rapid than that of persons still living spiritually in another country.

Frequently, even the pretense that the movement is voluntary has been lacking. As part of its European population policy, Nazi Germany exported Jews to camps and imported forced laborers from all occupied countries. The latter movement was a modern variant of the earlier slave-trade, but the largely successful attempt to kill off some millions of persons because of their supposed racial inferiority was something new in history. In the jargon of official bureaus, those that survived such forced migration have been termed "displaced persons," a designation that clearly implies their passive role. The forced movement itself is here called *displacement*.

The forced migrations under Soviet auspices have typically served two purposes, to remove a dissident or potentially dissident group from its home¹⁶ and to furnish an

unskilled labor force in an inhospitable area. During the first two five-year plans, several million "kulaks" were removed en masse to the sites of cities-to-be, and the inhabitants of the five national units of the USSR abolished during the war were deported wholesale to forced-labor camps.¹⁷ Such movements combine displacement with *slave trade*, or the forcible migration of laborers. While the overseas shipment of Africans during the mercantile age differed in some respects from the use of forced labor in an industrial economy, the two criteria that define the type are the same—the use of force and the supply of labor power.

The analogous form of impelled migration is termed *coolie trade*. This includes not only the movement of Asians to plantations, the most typical form, but also, for example, the migration of white indentured servants to the British colonies in the 18th century. Such migrants, while formally bound only for the period of a definite contract, very often are forced into indebtedness and thus to extend their period of service indefinitely.¹⁸ But as in other cases of impelled and forced migration, even when the difference between historical instances becomes blurred, the analytical distinction is clear. Another important difference between slave and coolie migration is that many coolies eventually return to their homeland. The total emigration from India from 1834 to 1937, for example, has been estimated at slightly more than 30 million, but of these

¹⁶ For example, after Poland was divided between Nazi Germany and Communist Russia in 1939, the more than a million Poles deported to Asiatic Russia were chosen not merely on the basis of actual or alleged opposition to their country's invasion but more often as members of a large variety of occupational groups, which were defined as potentially oppositionist. "Regarded as 'anti-Soviet elements,' and so treated, were administrative officials, police, judges, lawyers, members of Parliament, prominent members of political parties, non-communist non-political societies, clubs, and the Red Cross; civil servants not included above, retired military officers, officers in the reserve, priests, tradesmen, landowners, hotel and restaurant owners, clerks of the local Chambers of Commerce, and any class of persons engaged in trade or correspondence with foreign countries—the latter definition extending even to stamp collectors and Esperantists—were also deported. Many artisans, peasants, and laborers (both agricultural and industrial), were banished too, so that, in effect, no Polish element was spared." Edward J. Rozek, *Allied Wartime Diplomacy: A Pattern in Poland*, New York: Wiley, 1958, p. 39.

¹⁷ The Volga-German ASSR, the Kalmyk ASSR, the Chechen-Ingush ASSR, the Crimean ASSR, and the Karachayev Region were designated as "disloyal nationalities," and the major portion of the 2.8 million inhabitants were removed from their immemorial homeland. The million or so Tatars brought into Crimea to replace the deportees also proved to be unreliable, and in 1945 most of these were also deported to forced labor. See David J. Dallin and Boris I. Nicolaevsky, *Forced Labor in Soviet Russia*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1947, pp. 274-277. According to a decree dated January 9, 1957, the survivors among five of the uprooted peoples are to be shipped back to their homes over the next several years. Even under this new policy, however, the Volga Germans and the Tatars are presumably to be left in their Siberian exile (*New York Times*, February 12, 1957).

¹⁸ See, for example, Victor Purcell, *The Chinese in Southeast Asia*, London: Oxford University Press, 1951, p. 345.

almost 24 million returned, leaving a net emigration over the century of only six million.¹⁹

FREE MIGRATION

In the types of migration discussed so far, the will of the migrants has been a relatively unimportant factor. A primitive migration results from the lack of means to satisfy basic physiological needs, and in forced (or impelled) migration the migrants are largely passive. We now consider the types in which the will of the migrants is the decisive element, that is, *free* migrations.

Overseas movements from Europe during the 19th century afford important illustrations of this class of migration. Because of the excellence of its formal analysis, Lindberg's monograph on emigration from Sweden²⁰ has been chosen as an example. Lindberg distinguishes three periods, each with a characteristic type of emigrant. During the first stage, beginning around 1840, emigrants came principally from the two university towns of Upsala and Lund; they were "men with a good cultural and social background, mostly young and of a romantic disposition" (p. 3). Since the risks in emigration were great and difficult to calculate, those who left tended to be adventurers or intellectuals motivated by their ideals, especially by their alienation from European society during a period of political reaction. The significance of this *pioneer* movement was not in its size, which was never large, but in the example it set: "It was this emigration that helped to break the ice and clear the way for the later emigration, which included quite different classes" (p. 7). These pioneers wrote letters home; their adventures in the new world were recounted in Swedish newspapers. Once settled in the new country, they helped finance the passage of their families or friends.

Imperceptibly, this first stage developed into the second, the period of *group migration*—the emigration, for example, of Pietist

communities under the leadership of their pastor or another person of recognized authority. Even when not associated through their adherence to a dissident sect, emigrants banded together for mutual protection during the hazardous journey and against the wilderness and the often hostile Indians at its end. Again, the significance of this group migration lay not in its size but in the further impulse it gave. During the decade beginning in 1841, an average of only 400 persons left Sweden annually, and during the following decade, this average was still only 1,500.

MASS MIGRATION

Free migration is always rather small,²¹ for individuals strongly motivated to seek novelty or improvement are not commonplace. The most significant attribute of pioneers, as in other areas of life, is that they blaze trails that others follow, and sometimes the number who do so grows into a broad stream. Migration becomes a style, an established pattern, an example of collective behavior. Once it is well begun, the growth of such a movement is semi-automatic: so long as there are people to emigrate, the principal cause of emigration is prior emigration. Other circumstances operate as deterrents or incentives, but within this kind of attitudinal framework; all factors except population growth are important principally in terms of the established behavior. As we have already noted, when emigration has been set as a *social* pattern, it is no longer relevant to inquire concerning the *individual* motivations. For the individual is, in Lindberg's phrase, in an "unstable state of equilibrium," in which only a small impulse in either direction decides his course; hence the motives he ascribes to his emigration are either trivial or, more likely, the generalities that he thinks are expected.²²

¹⁹ Kingsley Davis, *The Population of India and Pakistan*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1951, p. 99.

²⁰ John S. Lindberg, *The Background of Swedish Emigration to the United States: An Economic and Sociological Study in the Dynamics of Migration*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1930.

²¹ As in general throughout this essay, the words used to designate the classes or types of migration are terms in common usage rather than neologisms. Since they are here more precisely defined than in most contexts, however, they denote a narrower range of meaning; thus free migration is not all unforced migration, for it is one of five rather than two classes.

²² Hansen has pointed out that the migrant's motivation was likely to be pruned to suit the

The development of migration as collective behavior is aptly illustrated by the Swedish case. During the decade 1861-70, when the average number of emigrants jumped to 9,300 per year, the transition to the third stage of mass emigration began. Transportation facilities improved: railroads connected the interior with the port cities, and the sailing ship began to be replaced by the much faster and safer steamer. While its relation to mass migration was important, this improvement in transportation facilities was not a cause; rather, it is "possible and even probable that emigration and the development of transportation were largely caused by the same forces" (p. 15, n. 17). Not only was the geographical distance cut down but also what Lindberg terms the social distance: as communities in the new country grew in size and importance, the shift from Sweden to America required less and less of a personal adjustment. Before the migrant left his homeland, he began his acculturation in an American-Swedish milieu, made up of New World letters, photographs, mementoes, knickknacks. There developed what the peasants

person asking for it. The official in the home country was told of material difficulties, but to cite these in America would confirm the natives' belief that the foreigner was a dangerous economic competitor. The village clergyman, should he attempt to dissuade a prospective migrant, was told that his sons were growing up without a future and becoming lazy and shiftless; but in America these moral motives would give point to the argument that immigrants were depraved. Hence, "the newcomer said, 'I came to the United States to enjoy the blessings of your marvelous government and laws,' [and] the native warned to him and was likely to inquire whether there was not something he could do to assist him. Immigrants soon learned the magic charm of this confession of faith. They seized every opportunity to contrast the liberty of the New World with the despotism of the Old." Marcus Lee Hansen, *The Immigrant in American History*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1940, pp. 77-78.

This is a good example of why public opinion polling can be deficient as a method of social—rather than social psychological—analysis. Each respondent queried replies in terms of his own norms, and for the whole sample these may differ considerably, depending on how heterogeneous the respondents are with respect to the subject of the poll. To sum up the Yes's and No's without taking into account the criteria that determined these replies is appropriate only when we are interested solely in the sum, as in an election.

called "America fever": in some districts, there was not a farm without some relatives in America, and from many all the children had emigrated. According to a government report that Lindberg quotes, children were "educated to emigrate," and he continues—

When they finally arrived at a decision, they merely followed a tradition which made emigration the natural thing in a certain situation. In fact, after the imagination and fantasy had, so to speak, become "charged with America," a positive decision *not* to emigrate may have been necessary if difficulties arose. (pp. 56-57.)

The Swedes who migrated to Minnesota became farmers or small-town craftsmen or merchants. In a more general analysis, it is useful to distinguish two types of mass movement according to the nature of the destination—*settlement*, such as Lindberg described, and *urbanization*, or mass migration to a larger town or city. No distinction in principle is made here between internal and international migration, for the fundamentals of the rural-urban shift so characteristic of the modern era are generally the same whether or not the new city-dwellers cross a national border.

CONCLUSIONS

The typology developed in this paper is summarized in the attached table. Such a typology is a tool, and it is worth constructing only if it is useful. What is its utility?

This question may be answered against a perspective of the present undeveloped status of migration theory. Classifications of modern migrations tend to derive from the statistics that are collected, whether or not these have any relevance to theoretical questions. It is as if those interested in the causes of divorce studied this matter exclusively with data classified according to the grounds on which divorces are granted. Even the principal statistical differentiation, that between internal and international migration, is not necessarily of theoretical significance.²³ Similarly, when the species *migrant*

²³ The movement westward across the United States, for example, included a swing northward to the western provinces of Canada at the turn of the century, and today American cities attract both Americans and Canadians. In both cases, one

is set off from the genus *traveler* by arbitrarily defining removal for a year or more as "permanent" migration, such a distinction clearly has little or no theoretical basis, and it is not even certain that it is the most convenient one that could be made.²⁴ The preferable procedure in any discipline is to establish our concepts and the logical relation among them, and to collect our statistics in terms of this conceptual framework. The principal purpose of the typology, then, is to offer, by such an ordering of conceptual types, a basis for the possible development of theory. "Since sound sociological interpretation inevitably implies some theoretic paradigm, it seems the better part of wisdom to bring it out into the open," first of all because such a paradigm "provides a compact parsimonious arrangement of the central concepts and their interrelations as these are utilized for description and analysis."²⁵

Migration differs from fertility and mortality in that it cannot be analyzed, even at the outset, in terms of non-cultural, physiological factors, but must be differentiated with respect to relevant social conditions. This means that the most general statement that one makes concerning migration should be in the form of a typology, rather than a law.²⁶ While few today would follow Ravenstein's example by denoting their statements

"laws,"²⁷ most treatments of migratory selection still imply a comparable degree of generality. Even the best discussions²⁸ typically neglect to point out that selection ranges along a continuum, from total migration to total non-migration, or that the predominance of females in rural-urban migration that Ravenstein noted must be contrasted with male predominance in, for example, India's urbanization. As we have seen, the familiar push-pull polarity implies a universal sedentary tendency, which has little empirical basis in either history or psychology. Analogously, the distinction between conservative and innovating migration challenges the usual notion that persons universally migrate in order to change their way of life.

Sometimes an analytical problem can be clarified by defining more precisely the two more or less synonymous terms that denote a confusion in concepts. For example, the question of whether the secular decline in the Western birth rate was due to a physiological deterioration or to new cultural standards was often not put clearly until *fecundity* was precisely distinguished from *fertility*. Several such pairs of terms are differentiated here. Whether a movement from the countryside to towns is *urbanization* or *flight from the land* can be a very important distinction; the discussion of Canada's immigration policy, for example, has largely centered on this point.²⁹ While the distinction between *urbanization* and *settlement* would seem to be so obvious that it can hardly be missed, one can say that the national-quota system of American immigration law is based in part at least on neglect of the implications of this differentiation.³⁰ The most useful distinction in the

may interpret English-speaking North America as a single labor market, with the international border acting primarily as an added friction to free mobility. See Brinley Thomas, *Migration and Economic Growth: A Study of Great Britain and the Atlantic Economy* (National Institute of Economic and Social Research), London: Cambridge University Press, 1954, pp. 134-138.

²⁴ Thus in his recent study of British migration, Isaac found it useful to distinguish between those who intend to settle elsewhere permanently and what he termed "quasi-permanent" migrants or those who leave for a year or more but intend to return. See Julius Isaac, *British Post-War Migration* (National Institute of Economic and Social Research), Occasional Paper XVII, Cambridge University Press, 1954, p. 2.

²⁵ Robert K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure*, Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1949, p. 14. For an interesting article exemplifying the usefulness of such a typology, see Merton, "Intermarriage and the Social Structure: Fact and Theory," *Psychiatry*, 4 (August, 1941), pp. 361-374.

²⁶ This point is very effectively argued by Heberle, *op. cit.*

²⁷ E. G. Ravenstein, "The Laws of Migration," *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, XLVIII (June, 1885), pp. 167-235; LII (June, 1889), pp. 241-305.

²⁸ See, for example, Dorothy Swaine Thomas (ed.), *Research Memorandum of Migration Differentials*, New York: Social Science Research Council, Bulletin 43, 1938; E. W. Hofstee, *Some Remarks on Selective Migration*, The Hague: Nijhoff, 1952.

²⁹ See Petersen, *op. cit.*, pp. 202 ff.

³⁰ The main source of immigration to the United States shifted from Northwest Europe to Southern and Eastern Europe at about the same time that

Relation	Migratory Force	Class of Migration	Type of Migration	
			Conservative	Innovating
Nature and man	Ecological push	Primitive	Wandering	Flight from the land
			Ranging	
State (or equivalent) and man	Migration policy	Forced	Displacement	Slave trade
		Impelled	Flight	Coolie trade
Man and his norms	Higher aspirations	Free	Group	Pioneer
Collective behavior	Social momentum	Mass	Settlement	Urbanization

typology, perhaps, is that between *mass* migration and all other types, for it emphasizes the fact that the movement of Europeans to the New World during the 19th century, the migration with which we are most familiar, does not constitute the whole of the phenomenon. When this type of mi-

the American economy underwent a fundamental transformation from an agrarian to an industrial base; consequently *some* of the observed differences between the "old" and the "new" immigration were due not to variations among European cultures, as is assumed in the law, but to the different rate of acculturation of peasants undergoing settlement or urbanization.

gration declined after the First World War, largely because of new political limitations imposed by both emigration and immigration countries, this was very often interpreted, not as a change to a different type, but as the end of significant human migration altogether.³¹ A world in which hardly anyone dies in the place where he was born, however, can hardly be termed sedentary.

³¹ The two best known statements of this point of view are W. D. Forsyth, *The Myth of Open Spaces*, Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1942, and Isaiah Bowman (ed.), *Limits of Land Settlement*, New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 1937.

URBANIZATION AND NATURAL RESOURCES: A STUDY IN ORGANIZATIONAL ECOLOGY

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THIS paper describes an attempt to formulate and test a theory designed to explain differences among countries with respect to two related phenomena—*urbanization* and *metropolitanization*. In the former case the theory seeks to account for differences in the proportion of the population residing in cities as such, while in the case of metropolitanization the concern is with differences in the proportion of the population residing in large cities. No attempt at a formal definition of "city" is made, but, as later sections will show, the term as used here conforms to generally accepted practice.¹

¹ It is recognized that in any international comparison of urbanization or metropolitanization the investigator inevitably faces the technical and theo-

ORGANIZATION FOR SUSTENANCE

A matter that has received insufficient attention from sociologists is social organization designed to obtain material sustenance, i.e., *objects of consumption*, for the population.² This relative neglect of organization for sustenance probably results from the dominance of economics and geography in this area, and a tendency on the part of soci-

retical problems revolving around the lack of a common technical definition of "city," but the writers prefer at this stage to concentrate on elaboration of the theory itself.

² By "objects of consumption" is meant material things, raw or processed, that are consumed by a population. Thus the "natural resources" of an area may or may not be objects of consumption at any given time.

ologists, in their reaction to economic and geographic determinism, to throw the baby out with the bath. Furthermore, emphasis on psychology and anthropology rather than economics and geography in the academic training of sociologists encourages a social-psychological orientation for each new crop of fledgling sociologists.

Whatever the reasons, sociological literature frequently gives the impression that society exists more or less without contact with the world seen by economists and geographers. Characteristically such matters as soil fertility, the location of coal deposits, and trade between nations appear to exist somewhere off stage and to have little relevance for the community as a configuration of visiting patterns, the family as a small group, the church as a voluntary association, or the factory as a status hierarchy. Certainly "family image sets," "dyadic interaction," and the "upper-upper class" are legitimate sociological concerns while soil fertility and coal deposits *per se* are not. It would be most unfortunate, however, if emphasis on the social-psychological, interactional aspects of the social system discouraged the study of man's increasingly efficient organization for providing himself with the material things of life. While ore deposits, water resources, and other objects of potential consumption are not of sociological interest in and of themselves, the intensive and extensive organization of effort to convert natural resources into objects of consumption is a critically important part of organized human effort, and, as such, is a legitimate and important area of sociological analysis.

The Fathers of sociology established a precedent for sociological inquiry into all aspects of society. In more recent times the most notable attempt by sociologists to develop an analytical framework encompassing man's organized efforts in relation to his natural environment is human ecology.³ It

is unfortunate for sociology that the human ecology that developed in America has been almost entirely a micro-ecology oriented around the city block and census tract, and increasingly a "social geography" concerned with the spatial distribution of churches, foreign born, and juvenile delinquents. As Hawley has rightly pointed out, many statements on human ecology "... seem to indicate a subordination of interests in functional relations to a concern with the spatial patterns in which such relations are expressed."⁴ From the point of view developed here the spatial factor may be of vital importance in some respects, but is of interest to human ecology only if it influences organization for sustenance. That is, space as such is relevant to human ecology only as it confronts human beings in their attempts to obtain objects of consumption, just as it is of importance to other forms of organization only as it generates, restricts, or otherwise affects the formation, operation, and duration of groups, institutions, and other social forms. Thus both the logic and desirability of designating mapping activities as the major content of human ecology are questionable. This explicit rejection of spatial analysis as the major concern of human ecology is essential to the revitalization and further development of a once promising discipline. The conception of human ecology as the study of sustenance organization⁵ appears to be more consistent with the nature of ecology in other fields and to be potentially more fruitful than spatial ecology for the development of useful theory and meaningful empirical propositions.⁶ This paper explores one of the implications of an organizational ecology.⁷

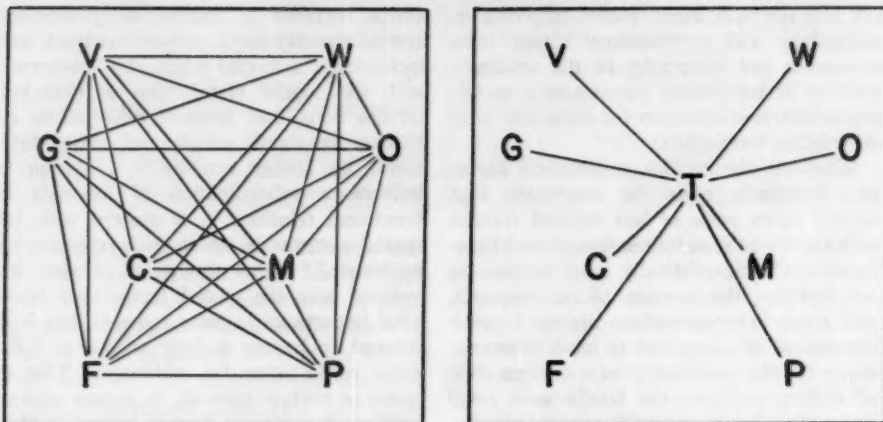
⁴ Hawley, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

⁵ While the details of this conception of human ecology cannot be spelled out in a single paper it should be stipulated that the unit of observation is a population, not the individual. The units examined in this paper are large national populations, but smaller populations, such as those of cities, villages, or neighborhoods, are also appropriate units if they involve organization for sustenance.

⁶ The writers lay no claims to novelty in presenting a conception of ecology that over the years has been advanced or rejected by persons too numerous to cite. The co-author of this paper, Martin, notes that positions he has taken in the past on this matter are inconsistent with the one taken here. At the same time he wishes to express

³ From a large literature on human ecology two recent items are selected as examples of quite different orientations: Amos H. Hawley, *Human Ecology, a Theory of Community Structure*, New York: Ronald Press, 1950; and James A. Quinn, *Human Ecology*, New York: Prentice Hall, 1950. Also of interest concerning different conceptions of ecology is Fred Cottrell, *Energy and Society*, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1955.

FIGURE 1. ALTERNATIVE TRANSPORTATION CONNECTIONS BETWEEN AREAS WITH DIFFERENT NATURAL RESOURCES IN A HYPOTHETICAL COUNTRY



1A. Individualistic Network

1B. Organized Network

C, coal deposits; F, land suited for growing fibrous products such as cotton; G, land suited for growing grains; M, location of metallic substances such as iron; O, oil deposits; P, grazing lands producing animal products; T, transport center; V, land suited for growing vegetables and fruits; W, land areas covered with forests suited for producing wood products.

HUMAN ECOLOGY AND URBANIZATION

Urbanization is included within the scope of human ecology, it follows, not because cities have spatial dimensions but because cities represent one way in which populations organize to obtain a greater quantity and variety of objects of consumption.⁸ The theory to be advanced here holds that it is only when cities are regarded as organizations for sustenance that differences among countries with respect to urbanization can be explained and predicted.

There is considerable agreement that most cities come into being and grow as a con-

his appreciation to Jesse F. Steiner, whose seminar discussions of "functional ecology" have stimulated his thought along these lines. Steiner is in no sense responsible, however, for the details of the present paper.

⁷ The writers use "organizational ecology" with reluctance since from their point of view this designation (like "functional ecology") represents a redundancy. However, the term does make more explicit the differentiation between the conception of human ecology presented here and the idea of human ecology as the study of spatial distribution.

⁸ In this connection it should be noted that organization in an ecological sense need not be the result of conscious action or purposive planning; neither is purposive organization omitted from human ecology.

sequence of activities associated with the exploitation of natural resources.⁹ In this connection it is helpful to view the relationship between the dispersion of these objects of consumption and the growth of urbanization. Given a land area with a dispersion of natural resources, such as the hypothetical country depicted in Figure 1, there are two alternatives open to a population in its attempt to exploit natural resources and convert them into objects of consumption for the country as a whole.

While the hypothetical country shown in Figure 1 is grossly over-simplified, it serves to illustrate the basic alternatives. Faced by the necessity of exchanging dispersed natural resources or bringing them together for combination into new objects of consumption, the population can attempt to link all areas possessing needed resources with individual transportation routes, as shown in Figure 1A. The alternative is to link all resource areas through the creation of a center and system of transportation lines, as indicated

⁹ See e.g., N. P. Gist and L. A. Halbert, *Urban Society*, 4th Edition, New York: Crowell, 1956, Chapter 4; and Chauncey D. Harris and Edward L. Ullman, "The Nature of Cities," *The Annals*, 242 (November, 1945) pp. 7-17.

in Figure 1B. It is widely recognized that the transportation routes which evolve in countries never resemble the network of possible routes shown in 1A.¹⁰ Inevitably, through foresight or survival, a center such as "T" in Figure 1B develops and functions as a transportation hub, a place of trade, a center of control over extractive industries, and as a locale for processing and combining raw materials. Actually, of course, several such centers may develop rather than one.¹¹

As suggested earlier, the conception of the city as functioning primarily as a center of control of production and processing raw materials gained through the exploitation of natural resources is not a new idea in human ecology. If the conception is accepted as a valid one, however, there are certain consequences that have not been fully realized in ecological theory.

Transport and control centers (designated "T" in Figure 1B) arise as part of an organized effort to convert widely dispersed natural resources into objects of consumption for the country as a whole. In Figure 1B, if area G is suitable only for growing grain, the resident population of G will be dependent upon T for all other objects of consumption other than grain products, and as a consequence of G's dependence, T

requires a larger population in order to control and process the raw materials that become the objects of consumption for the people in area G. On the other hand, suppose G is surrounded in the immediate area by all the natural resources shown in Figure 1 so that the raw materials needed to produce G's objects of consumption are not dispersed throughout the country. If this were the case, G would be independent of T for most practical purposes and T's population would not need to be as large. Clearly, from this point of view, the existence of T as an urban center and the size of its population at any given time result from the fact that the objects of consumption in the hypothetical country are widely dispersed. If all possible objects of consumption were equally available at all points in the country the development of T would no longer be a necessity.¹²

A decrease in T's population could also be brought about by a drop in consumption in one or more of the natural resource areas. If wood products ceased to be in demand as an object of consumption in the hypothetical country, the stimulus determining the size of the population of T would be reduced in proportion to the persons in T who were occupied in controlling or processing wood products that move from W to all other areas through T.¹³ This assumes, of course, that consumption of some substitute for wood does not stimulate a similar population in T.

This line of reasoning leads to the first

¹⁰ For detailed treatment of this phenomenon in terms of the "principle of least effort" see George Kingsley Zipf, *Human Behavior and the Principle of Least Effort*, Cambridge: Addison-Wesley, 1949, esp. pp. 348-364.

¹¹ While the theory advanced here is not presented as an explanation of city location, it is not unrelated to this matter. Implicit in the present theory is the suggestion that the location and development of concentrations of populations are tied in closely with the pattern of dispersion of objects of consumption. While detailed discussion of the implications of this view for city location theory must await a later paper, we see no major conflict between the present theory and prevailing theories of location. For example, the former does not contradict the "break in transportation" theory but rather clarifies it by showing that a break in transportation can be a determinant in the location of a city only when the source of a population's objects of consumption lie beyond the break. For a review of "locational" theories see Harris and Ullman, *op. cit.* More elaborate presentations are given in August Lösch, *The Economics of Location* (translated from the Second Revised Edition by William H. Woglom with the assistance of Wolfgang F. Stolper) New Haven: Yale University Press, 1954; and Walter Isard, *Location and Space-Economy*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1954.

¹² Even though objects of consumption are evenly dispersed throughout a society (i.e., there is an undifferentiated natural environment) the development of regional specialization in the production of objects of consumption results in a special case of dispersion of objects of consumption (Region A produces coal, Region B produces wheat, etc.). The effects of this organizational differentiation for urbanization would appear to be identical with those of geographic differentiation. The presence of a critical factor, surplus production, is assumed here as in the rest of the paper but left implicit.

¹³ Here can be seen a problematical relationship between the existence of urban centers and the diversity of objects of consumption. As a general rule, the greater the diversity of types of objects of consumption the more dispersed are the raw materials and the greater the necessity for urban centers to control and process the widely dispersed raw materials.

theoretical proposition: *The degree of urbanization in a country varies directly with the extent of the dispersion of its objects of consumption.*

The proposition anticipates that those countries with a limited number of different types of objects of consumption evenly distributed over its territory will have a small proportion of population living in cities. In contrast, those countries consuming a diversity of objects that are widely dispersed will have a large proportion of population living in cities.

Before testing the first proposition it is necessary to consider the nature of the relationship between the dispersion of objects of consumption and urbanization beyond the *de facto* generalization contained in the first proposition. It is not meaningful to speak of the dispersion of objects of consumption as *causing* urbanization or vice versa. The acquisition of widely dispersed consumption items would not be possible without a sustenance organization such as urbanization. On the other hand, urban centers of an appreciable number and size cannot exist in a country without a wide area of raw materials upon which to draw so as to support the urban population, which means a wide dispersion of objects of consumption. Thus, in causal terms, there is an interactive relationship between the dispersion of the objects of consumption of a country and its degree of urbanization. In final analysis, both are products of people organizing themselves in such a way as to obtain more sustenance and a greater diversity in consumers goods. To obtain these goals people must draw raw materials from greater distances, which requires urbanization as a means to control the requisitioning and processing of raw materials.

A TEST OF THE FIRST PROPOSITION

Given the necessary data a precise measure could be made of the degree to which objects consumed are dispersed. For any country it would be possible to determine the distance each object of consumption has been carried from its point of origin as a raw material to its point of acceptance by a consumer. The average distance that all consumption items have been carried would thus be a measure of the extent to which

the country's consumption objects are dispersed.¹⁴ Since the data necessary for such a precise measure are not available and could not be obtained without enormous expenditure, the writers have employed alternative and available types of data.

For purposes of measurement, a country's objects of consumption can be divided into two types. First, are those objects that have their origin within the borders of the country; the degree of their dispersion can be designated as the degree of internal dispersion. Second, are consumption objects that are obtained by international trade or conquest, and the degree of their dispersion can be designated as the degree of external dispersion.¹⁵ Although a measure of dispersion should incorporate both internal and external types, existing data make it possible to take into account only the degree of external dispersion.¹⁶

Data suitable for a rough measure of the degree of external dispersion have been provided by the Statistical Office of the United Nations.¹⁷ In this publication the amount of trade in millions of U. S. dollars among most of the countries and colonial territories of the world is given by exports and imports for a number of years.

The pre-war year of 1938 was selected since it avoids the disruption of World War II and corresponds roughly with the period covered in Davis' comprehensive measures of the degree of urbanization in selected countries, as shown in Table 1.

A crude component measure of the external dispersion of a country's objects of consumption can be obtained by multiplying the number of millions of dollars of imports

¹⁴ A more exact measure would of course take into account the weight of objects of consumption as well as the distance carried.

¹⁵ The fact that the degree of a country's internal dispersion of objects of consumption is not taken into account here in the test of the propositions derived from the theory may mean that only moderately high relationships will be found to hold.

¹⁶ For simplicity, the factor of external dispersion of objects of consumption was not taken into account in Figure 1. We are assuming that the consequences of internal and external dispersion of objects of consumption are identical as far as the degree of urbanization is concerned; subsequent study may prove this assumption unwarranted.

¹⁷ Statistical Office of the United Nations, "Direction of International Trade," in *Statistical Papers*, Series T, Vol. 6, No. 10.

TABLE 1. PER CENT OF POPULATION IN CITIES BY SIZE CLASS FOR SELECTED COUNTRIES¹*

Region and Country	Year	In Cities 5,000+ Per Cent	In Cities 10,000+ Per Cent	In Cities 25,000+ Per Cent	In Cities 100,000+ Per Cent	Index ^a	Per Cent in the Largest City
Africa							
Egypt	1939	^b	27.0	19.7	13.2	^b	8.2
Asia and Oceania							
Australia ^a	1939	71.2	67.9	62.1	47.3	62.1	18.4
New Zealand	1941	52.5	49.4	41.5	31.8	43.8	13.7
Japan	1935	64.5	45.8	36.8	25.3	43.1	8.5
India	1941	12.3	10.5	8.1 ^a	4.2	8.8	0.5
European Countries							
Great Britain ^a	1931	81.7 ^a	73.6	63.1	45.2	65.9	20.5
Germany ^a	1939	57.4 ^a	51.7	43.5	31.8	46.1	6.3
France ^a	1936	41.7 ^a	37.5	29.8	16.0	31.2	6.8
Sweden	1940	35.9	32.1	25.6	16.1	27.4	9.0
Greece ^a	1937	33.1 ^a	29.8	23.1	14.8	25.2	7.3
Poland ^a	1931	22.8 ^a	20.5	15.8	10.7	17.4	3.6
Latin America							
Argentina ^{a, 4}	1943 ^a	48.9	46.8	42.7	34.0	43.1	18.5
Chile ^a	1940	44.8	41.1	34.3	23.1	35.8	19.0
Cuba	1943	38.8	35.5	28.8	18.8	30.5	13.8
Venezuela	1941	36.2	31.3	23.3	14.8	26.4	10.4
Panama	1940	26.2	24.7	24.7	17.7	23.4	17.7
Mexico	1940	27.5	21.9	16.8	10.2	19.1	7.4
Brazil ^a	1940	21.3	18.4	14.6	11.0	16.3	3.8
Colombia	1938	19.0	15.2	12.1	7.1	13.3	3.7
Guatemala	1940	13.2	8.4	6.0	5.0	8.2	5.0
North America							
United States	1940	52.7	47.6	40.1	28.8	42.3	5.7
Canada	1941	43.0	38.5	32.7	23.0	34.3	7.8

^aThe index of urbanization was computed by adding the percentages in the previous four columns and dividing by four.

^bFigures not available to the authors.

^cPercentages based on estimated population figures.

^dData on cities incomplete.

^eExcept where otherwise indicated, the percentages were computed from census data.

^f*Hammond's New World Atlas*, 1947, p. 82. The figures for cities of 100,000+ include suburbs. The date of the figures is not certain, but it appears to be 1939.

^gThese figures were taken from United States Department of State, Division of Geography and Cartography, *Europe (without U.S.S.R.): Cities of 10,000 Population and Over by Size Categories, circa 1930*, No. 108, April 5, 1944. The percentage for 5,000+ in each case was estimated by assuming that the ratio between the percentage in cities 5,000+ and the percentage in cities 10,000+ was the same as the average ratio in the United States and Canada.

^hThe population figures on which the percentages rest were taken from the *Handbook of Latin American Population Data* (Washington, D. C.: Office of Inter-American Affairs, 1945).

*From Kingsley Davis, *The Population of India and Pakistan* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1951), Table 45, p. 129. Used by permission.

of the country by the distance in miles between it and each exporting country. The product obtained expresses the imports in terms of "million dollar miles." The composite measure for a country is the sum of the component measures (there being as many component measures as there are coun-

tries from which imports were received), and is designated as the "total million dollar miles." Since this value is influenced to a considerable degree by population size, it must be reduced to a per capita basis.

A simplified measure of the degree of external dispersion was developed that elimi-

TABLE 2. TOTAL MILLION DOLLAR MILES OF IMPORTS PER 10,000 POPULATION, 1938, AND RANKS OF MEASURES OF URBANIZATION, *circa* 1940, FOR 22 COUNTRIES

Country	(1) Million Dollar Miles of Imports *	(2) Rank of Col. 1	(3) Rank of Col. 1 Without Egypt	Rank of Per Cent Urbanization †					
				(4) In Cities 5,000+	(5) In Cities 10,000+	(6) In Cities 25,000+	(7) In Cities 100,000+	(8) By Davis Index	(9) In Largest City
New Zealand	12,961.6	1	1	6	4	5	4.5	4	7
Australia	6,564.5	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	4
Great Britain	4,408.4	3	3	1	1	1	2	1	1
Sweden	2,137.2	4	4	13	12	12	12	12	9
Argentina	2,057.0	5	5	7	6	4	3	5.5	3
Chile	1,371.5	6	6	8	8	8	8	8	2
Canada	1,353.7	7	7	9	9	9	9	9	12
Panama	1,239.3	8	8	16	16	13	11	15	5
Venezuela	1,205.2	9	9	12	13	14	14.5	13	8
France	1,063.4	10	10	10	10	10	13	10	15
Germany	999.8	11	11	4	3	3	4.5	3	16
United States	965.7	12	12	5	5	6	6	7	17
Cuba	808.7	13	13	11	11	11	10	11	6
Japan	511.4	14	14	3	7	7	7	5.5	10
Greece	459.4	15	15	14	14	15	14.5	14	14
Colombia	451.2	16	16	19	20	20	20	19	20
Brazil	390.4	17	17	18	19	19	17	18	19
Egypt	327.0	18	—	—	15	16	16	—	11
Guatemala	240.0	19	18	20	22	22	21	21	18
Poland	180.5	20	19	17	18	18	18	17	21
Mexico	174.2	21	20	15	17	17	19	16	13
India	61.9	22	21	21	21	21	22	20	22

* Total million dollar miles of imports per 10,000 population.

† Ranks of the per cents given in Table 1.

nated measuring the distance of trade routes between each country and other countries or territories from which it received imports, an operation that would require some 130 separate measures in certain cases. Instead, the amount of imports in millions of dollars and the distance the imports traveled were measured by the distance between the geographic centers of the importing countries and those of the *regions* of which the exporting countries are a part.¹⁸ Furthermore, this distance was measured as the shortest between the two points rather than along trade routes. For example, in the case of United States imports from Brazil the

straight line distance was calculated between the approximate geographic centers of the United States and South America. Following this procedure, a component measure was obtained for each country from which imports were received. The sum of these values for each country, when divided by the population and multiplied by 10,000, is expressed as total million dollar miles of imports per 10,000 population.¹⁹ The resulting measures shown in column 1 of Table 2 are designated for the sake of simplicity as measures of relative external dispersion (RED).

It should be obvious that this measure of the external dispersion of a country's objects of consumption is extremely crude.²⁰

¹⁸ Except that in the case of countries within the same region the distance was calculated between the approximate geographic centers of both the importing and exporting countries. The ten regions used by the United Nations in reporting imports are: North America, Central America, South America, Northwest Europe, Southern Europe, Eastern Europe, Middle East, other Asia, Oceania, and other Africa.

¹⁹ Estimates of midyear populations for 1937 were obtained from *Demographic Yearbook, 1948*, New York: United Nations, 1949, pp. 75-85.

²⁰ The objection to a measure of total million dollar miles per 10,000 population as a sociological variable can be anticipated on the ground that it is abstract to the point of being meaningless as far

Ideally, distance should be measured by trade routes between the population centers of individual countries rather than as the shortest distance between the geographical centers of a country and its region. The practice of using "shortest distance" rather than "trade route distance" does not affect all countries equally.²¹ In Japan, for example, it produces the unrealistic picture of imports from Europe moving across Siberia rather than via the Panama Canal or Singapore, resulting in a far lower total million dollar miles of Japanese imports than is, in fact, the case.

Measures of Urbanization. In recognition of the fact that a standard and definitive measure of the degree of urbanization in a country has yet to be produced,²² we have tested the first proposition of the theory with six different measures of urbanization. These six measures are shown in Table 1 and the rank of each measure within the column is shown in Table 2.

The first proposition was tested in terms of six hypotheses, each of which involves a different measure of urbanization. The hypotheses and the results of the tests are given below. In all six tests the column designation refers to Table 2.

Hypothesis No. 1: There will be a direct relationship by countries between the ranks of the per cent of the population living in cities of 5,000 population and over (col. 4) and the ranks of the RED measures (col. 3).²³ The rank difference coefficient of correlation (ρ) for these two variables is $+ .70$.²⁴

Hypothesis No. 2: There will be a direct

as common sense experience is concerned. The utility of a variable is not, of course, determined by common sense experience. A sociological variable need not be in accord with common sense experience any more than is the "square of the distance" in physics.

²¹ The same point probably holds for the internal dispersion of the countries' objects of consumption.

²² For a discussion of problems faced in measuring urbanization, see E. E. Bergel, *Urban Sociology*, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1955, pp. 3-14.

²³ Egypt was excluded from this test because the per cent of Egypt's population residing in cities of over 5,000 for the year of 1939 is not known.

²⁴ If the assumption of a random sample from a hypothetical universe is made, this and all other ρ 's reported for the six hypotheses are significant at the .01 level of significance or beyond.

relationship by countries between the ranks of the per cent of the population living in cities of 10,000 population and over (col. 5) and the ranks of the RED measures (col. 2). ρ is $+ .78$.

Hypothesis No. 3: There will be a direct relationship by countries between the ranks of the per cent of the population living in cities of 25,000 population and over (col. 6) and the ranks of the RED measures (col. 2). The value of ρ is $+ .80$.

Hypothesis No. 4: There will be a direct relationship by countries between the ranks of the per cent of the population living in cities of 100,000 population and over (col. 7) and the ranks of the RED measures (col. 2). ρ is $+ .83$.

Hypothesis No. 5: There will be a direct relationship by countries between the ranks of the per cent of the population living in the largest city (col. 9) and the ranks of the RED measures (col. 2). ρ is $+ .77$.

Hypothesis No. 6: There will be a direct relationship by countries between the ranks of the Davis index of urbanization²⁵ (col. 8) and the ranks of the RED measures (col. 3).²⁶ The computed value of the ρ is $+ .77$.

Considering the crudeness of the measure of the external dispersion of a country's objects of consumption and the failure to take into account internal dispersion, the results of the tests of the above six hypotheses lend considerable support to the validity of the first proposition of the theory.

The results of these tests should not be interpreted to mean that the dispersion of objects of consumption is a variable isolated from and independent of certain sociological variables that have long been known to be in some way related to the degree of urbanization. It would doubtless be impossible, for example, to obtain widely dispersed objects of consumption without a highly developed economic organization and technological system. While the degree of dispersion of consumption goods is in all probability tied up with a large number of economic and technological variables, the

²⁵ See footnotes to Table 1 for a description of this index.

²⁶ Egypt does not have an index of urbanization because the per cent of Egypt's population living in cities of over 5,000 in 1939 is not known, and it has consequently been excluded from this test.

physical fact of dispersion remains a crucial variable. Thus it may be assumed that neither Australia nor New Zealand is more economically and technologically advanced than the United States; yet with only one exception both of these countries rank higher than the United States on the six measures of urbanization shown in Table 1, and significantly, they also show much higher measures of dispersion of objects of consumption. While a highly developed economic and technological system is probably a necessary condition for a high degree of dispersion of objects of consumption, the physical fact of the distance separating consumers and the items they consume is of considerable importance. The probable linkage of the dispersion of consumption objects and economic and technological variables would appear to add to the significance of the dispersion of these objects as an ecological variable. Needless to say, however, the nature of the connection between such dispersion and economic-technological variables should be studied carefully in future ecological analysis. In the meantime, a comment is in order concerning the view that it is actually high income rather than high urbanization that makes it possible to bring together widely dispersed objects of consumption. Per capita income and urbanization are indeed positively related. This relationship points up an important aspect of the theory: urbanization is an efficient organization for obtaining sustenance whether measured by income per capita or the dispersion of objects of consumption.

The findings reported in the test of the six hypotheses will not be unexpected to many researchers since a connection between foreign trade and urbanization has been noted in other studies. The present theory, however, provides a rationale for explaining the connection between the two variables. It remains to be seen whether sheer per capita volume of foreign trade correlates more highly with urbanization than does a weighted measure (such a comparison should be made with a refined measure of dispersion of objects of consumption). It also remains to be seen what the results will be when various economic and technological variables are held constant in testing the theory.

A SECOND PROPOSITION

As suggested above, countries may differ with respect to the proportion of the population residing in cities (urbanization), and with respect to the proportion of the population living in "large" cities (metropolitanization). These two dimensions of urbanization have a peculiar relationship in that a high degree of metropolitanization assures a high degree of urbanization but the reverse is not true. In theory at least it would be possible for a country to have a high degree of urbanization and a low degree of metropolitanization.

The theory of dispersion of objects of consumption points to the possibility that countries with a high RED measure are strongly urbanized because they have a high degree of metropolitanization. Where there are large metropolises the country's inhabitants must organize themselves in such a way that the metropolitan centers can draw consumers goods from a wide area, which means a wide dispersion of objects of consumption. Such is not the case for countries with a large proportion of their population living in small cities, since small cities have only to draw materials from their immediate environs. In short, whether or not a large proportion of the population lives in small cities depends upon conditions other than the external dispersion of objects of consumption, but the presence of a large proportion of the population in metropolises is completely dependent upon a large amount of consumption objects being brought from a considerable distance.

If this line of reasoning is sound, we should expect to find that the strength of the relationship between a measure of the dispersion of objects of consumption and the proportion of the population living in cities varies with the population size range of the cities. That is, if metropolitanization is defined as "large cities" the relationship by countries between the dispersion of consumption objects and metropolitanization will vary with the definition of large city. For example, if the proportion of the population living in cities between 5,000 and 10,000 is accepted as a measure of metropolitanization (which, of course, is not usually the case), the relationship between the dispersion of consumers items and metropolitan-

TABLE 3. TOTAL MILLION DOLLAR MILES OF IMPORTS PER 10,000 POPULATION, 1938, AND PER CENT OF POPULATION LIVING IN FOUR TYPES OF CITIES, *circa* 1940, FOR 21 COUNTRIES

Country	(1) Total Million Dollar Miles of Imports*	Percent of Population Living in †								(10) Rank of Col. 9
		(2) Rank of Col. 1	(3) Cities of 5,000- 10,000	(4) Rank of Col. 3	(5) Cities of 10,000- 25,000	(6) Rank of Col. 5	(7) Cities of 25,000- 100,000	(8) Rank of Col. 7	(9) Cities of over 100,000	
New Zealand	12,961.6	1	3.1	16	7.9	5	9.7	9.5	31.8	4.5
Australia	6,564.5	2	3.3	14	5.8	12.5	14.8	2	47.3	1
Great Britain	4,408.4	3	8.1	2	10.5	1	17.9	1	45.2	2
Sweden	2,137.2	4	3.8	10.5	6.5	11	9.5	11	16.1	12
Argentina	2,057.0	5	2.1	19	4.1	16	8.7	12	34.0	3
Chile	1,371.5	6	3.7	12	6.8	8	11.2	7	23.1	8
Canada	1,353.7	7	4.5	8	5.8	12.5	9.7	9.5	23.0	9
Panama	1,239.3	8	1.5	21	0.0	21	7.0	15	17.7	11
Venezuela	1,205.2	9	4.9	6	8.0	4	8.5	13	14.8	14.5
France	1,063.4	10	4.2	9	7.7	6	13.8	3	16.0	13
Germany	999.8	11	5.7	3	8.2	3	11.7	4	31.8	4.5
United States	965.7	12	5.1	5	7.5	7	11.3	6	28.8	6
Cuba	808.7	13	3.3	14	6.7	9.5	10.0	8	18.8	10
Japan	511.4	14	18.7	1	9.0	2	11.5	5	25.3	7
Greece	459.4	15	3.3	14	6.7	9.5	8.3	14	14.8	14.5
Colombia	451.2	16	3.8	10.5	3.1	18	5.0	18	7.1	19
Brazil	390.4	17	2.9	17	3.8	17	3.6	20	11.0	16
Guatemala	240.0	18	4.8	7	2.4	19.5	1.0	21	5.0	20
Poland	180.5	19	2.3	18	4.7	15	5.1	17	10.7	17
Mexico	174.2	20	5.6	4	5.1	14	6.6	16	10.2	18
India	61.9	21	1.8	20	2.4	19.5	3.9	19	4.2	21

* Total million dollar miles of imports per 10,000 population.

† Per cents deduced from data shown in Table 1.

ization will be less than is the case where the proportion of the population living in cities between 10,000 and 25,000 is the measure of metropolitanization. Stated in abstract form, this line of reasoning becomes the second proposition of the theory: *The magnitude of the relationship by countries between a measure of the dispersion of objects of consumption and the proportion of the population living in cities increases directly with the size of the cities considered.*

A TEST OF THE SECOND PROPOSITION

In order to test this proposition it is necessary to establish the proportion of the population in each country that resides in cities of different population ranges. The data in Table 1 permit the deduction of the per cent of the population living in cities of 5,000 to 10,000, 10,000 to 25,000, 25,000 to 100,000, and over 100,000. These percentages and their corresponding ranks are shown in Table 3.²⁷

The second proposition was tested in the form of three hypotheses. These three hypotheses stated in operational terms and the results of their tests are as follows (all column designations refer to Table 3):

Hypothesis No. 1: The rank-difference correlation between the RED measures (col. 2) and the per cent of the population in cities of 5,000 to 10,000 inhabitants will be lower than that between the RED measures and the per cent of the population in cities of 10,000 to 25,000 inhabitants (col. 6). The computed values of ρ are $+0.01$ and $+0.43$ respectively.

Hypothesis No. 2: The rank-difference correlation between the RED measures (col. 2) and the per cent of the population in cities of 10,000 to 25,000 inhabitants (col. 6) will be lower than that between the RED measures and the per cent of the population in cities of 25,000 to 100,000 (col. 8). In this case, the computed values of ρ are $+0.43$ and $+0.65$ respectively.

Hypothesis No. 3: The rank-difference correlation between the RED measures (col. 2) and the per cent of the population in

cities of 25,000 to 100,000 (col. 8) will be lower than that between the RED measures and the per cent of the population in cities of 100,000 inhabitants or more (col. 10). The computed ρ values are $+0.65$ and $+0.81$ respectively.

As the results of these tests show, with increasing size of the cities there is a uniform increase in the magnitude of the relationship between a measure of the external dispersion of objects of consumption (RED) and the proportion of the population living in cities of a given size range. Only when metropolitanization is defined in terms of population living in cities of 100,000 and over (the usual definition), do we find an impressively high correlation.

CONCLUSION

It has been shown that the conception of cities as a particular type of organization for sustenance leads to a theory of the dispersion of objects of consumption as a possible explanation of differences between countries in the extent of urbanization and metropolitanization. A measure of resource dispersion—million dollar miles of imports per 10,000 population—was developed. This measure was used to test two propositions derived from the theory: (1) the degree of urbanization of a country varies directly with the extent of the dispersion of its objects of consumption; (2) the magnitude of the relationship by countries between a measure of the dispersion of objects of consumption and the proportion of the population living in cities increases directly with the size of the cities.

As Table 4 shows, regardless of the specific measure of urbanization, fairly strong support is provided for the first proposition. Similarly, the second proposition is supported—with the values of ρ varying from $+0.01$ for small cities (5,000 to 10,000 population) to $+0.81$ for metropolises of 100,000 or more. According to our theory, urbanization is closely related to external dispersion of objects of consumption but this relationship varies from nil in the case of small towns to a high correlation in the case of metropolises. This is interpreted as meaning that the metropolitan type of organization, on one hand, is faced with the necessity of bringing together widely dispersed con-

²⁷ Egypt is excluded from Table 3 because the proportion of its population living in cities of between 5,000 and 10,000 cannot be deduced from the data in Table 1.

TABLE 4. THE RELATIONSHIPS BY COUNTRIES BETWEEN THE MEASURE OF THE DISPERSION OF OBJECTS OF CONSUMPTION AND THE VARIABLES STIPULATED IN TWO THEORETICAL PROPOSITIONS

Proposition 1		Proposition 2	
Measure of Urbanization	Rho	Per Cent in City Size Category	Rho
Davis index	+ .77 ^a	5-10,000	+ .01
Per cent in cities:		10-25,000	+ .43 ^b
5,000 +	+ .70 ^a	25-100,000	+ .65 ^a
10,000 +	+ .78 ^a	100,000 +	+ .81 ^a
25,000 +	+ .80 ^a		
100,000	+ .83 ^a		
Largest city	+ .77 ^a		

^a Significant at .01 per cent level or beyond for one-tail test.

^b Significant at .05 per cent level or beyond for one-tail test.

sumption objects and, on the other hand, is capable of getting this job done.

Both the general position regarding human ecology and the specific findings presented here have implications which cannot be treated in a single paper. The tests were presented as simple demonstrations of the ability of organizational ecology to generate meaningful empirical propositions.²⁸ The results, while providing support for the theory,

are suggestive rather than conclusive; they are not viewed as a basis for either accepting or rejecting the conception of human ecology discussed here. Nevertheless, we hope that this presentation will stimulate interest in a reconsideration of human ecology.

²⁸ Hawley's *Human Ecology*, *op. cit.*, though empirically oriented, on close inspection appears to be more concerned with conceptual analysis than specific empirical propositions.

THE GENERALITY OF URBAN SOCIAL AREA INDEXES *

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ESHREF SHEVKY and his associates Marilyn Williams and Wendell Bell have advanced a system for analyzing census tract populations within a framework of a small number of measures which they regard as having high theoretical significance. The Shevky system, which has become known as "social area analysis," was first applied to Los Angeles¹ and later was used

in a study of the San Francisco Bay Region.² More recently, Shevky and Bell presented a detailed theoretical discussion which includes the rationale for selection of the measures and mode of analysis.³

The Shevky group has differentiated the areal structure of the urban community in terms of an attribute space, delimited by dimensions defined by Shevky as "social rank," "urbanization," and "segregation."⁴

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¹ Eshref Shevky and Marilyn Williams, *The Social Areas of Los Angeles: Analysis and Typology*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1949.

² Wendell Bell, "The Social Areas of the San Francisco Bay Region," *American Sociological Review*, 18 (February, 1953), pp. 39-47.

³ Eshref Shevky and Wendell Bell, *Social Area Analysis: Theory, Illustrative Application, and Computational Procedures*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1955.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 17-27, 68. Bell has substituted the terms "economic status," "family status," and

The index of "social rank" is derived from census tract measures of occupation and education; the "urbanization" index from measures of fertility, women in the labor force, and single family dwelling units; and the "segregation" index from measures of ethnic groups in spatial isolation.⁵ Urban typologies are constructed by establishing arbitrary cutting points for the index scores which delimit social area types having the same patterns of census tract scores on the indexes.⁶ Social area analysis has been advanced by its proponents as providing a framework for comparative and successional studies and for other forms of research.⁷

Shevky's system has been criticized at both theoretical and empirical levels. Amos Hawley and Otis Dudley Duncan have expressed doubt that the rationale for social area analysis provides a satisfactory theoretical basis for describing social differentiation in geographically delimited areas.⁸ In addition, Duncan has questioned the empirical validity and generality of the key indexes—social rank, urbanization, and segregation.⁹ While both questions ultimately must be answered, this paper is concerned primarily with the generality of the Shevky indexes. For social area analysis to have the broad comparative utility for which it was intended, the areal units compared must be describable within a common set of measures, which can be observed in the same areas and in other areas at different points in time. While the census measures from which the social rank, urbanization, and segregation indexes are derived can be observed for many kinds of areal units, ranging from census tracts through regions, these observations in themselves are not sufficient to establish the general applicability of the indexes. The specific claim and distinguishing feature of the Shevky

system is that the census measures should be combined in a *particular* way to provide a frame of reference of comparative value. The problem then, in any specific application, centers upon whether or not the six census measures are related in the manner specified by Shevky. By means of factor analysis of 1940 census tract data for Los Angeles and the San Francisco Bay Region, Bell has shown that the census measures form a structure consistent with Shevky's formulations.¹⁰ In the present paper more evidence of a similar nature is presented in order to describe the structure of the measures and dimensions for a larger series of American cities.

FACTOR INTERPRETATION OF SHEVKY INDEXES

The Shevky dimensions of social rank, urbanization, and segregation are abstract variables which cannot be observed directly. Shevky has indicated, however, that the dimensions are reflected in census tract measures, and that indexes of the dimensions can be derived from weighted combinations of census measures. Shevky's description of urban structure can be understood to imply a specific pattern of correlations between observable census measures and abstract dimensions or factors, as shown in Table 1.¹¹ In Table 1 a plus sign (+) indicates a high positive correlation between a measure listed in a row and a factor listed in a column; a zero sign (0) indicates a low correlation. The mode of combination of the census tract measures shown in Table 1 implies the following set of factor hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1: At least three factors are necessary to account for the correlations between urban census tract populations with reference to measures of occupation, education, fertility, women in the labor force, single family dwelling units, and a measure of spatially isolated ethnic groups.

Hypothesis 2a: Measures of occupation and education are highly correlated with a single factor defined as "social rank" for urban census tract populations.

"ethnic status" for the dimensions referred to by Shevky as social rank, urbanization, and segregation.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 54-57.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 57-58, Shevky and Williams, *op. cit.*, pp. 63-68.

⁷ Shevky and Bell, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-22.

⁸ Amos Hawley and Otis Dudley Duncan, "Social Area Analysis: A Critical Appraisal," *Land Economics*, 33 (November, 1957), pp. 337-345.

⁹ Otis Dudley Duncan, review of Shevky and Bell, *Social Area Analysis*, in *American Journal of Sociology*, 61 (July, 1955), pp. 84-85.

¹⁰ Wendell Bell, "Economic, Family, and Ethnic Status: An Empirical Test," *American Sociological Review*, 20 (February, 1955), pp. 45-52.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 47.

TABLE 1. HYPOTHESIZED SHEVKY MATRIX

Measure †	Factor *		
	SR	U	Seg.
Occ.	+	0	0
Educ.	+	0	0
Fert.	0	+	0
WLF	0	+	0
SFDU	0	+	0
Negro	0	0	+

* + denotes high positive correlation

0 denotes low correlation

† The following abbreviations are used in the table: Occ. = occupation; Educ. = education; Fert. = fertility; WLF = women in the labor force; SFDU = single family dwelling units; Negro = Negro population (spatially isolated ethnic group); SR = social rank factor; U = urbanization factor; Seg. = segregation factor.

Hypothesis 2b: Measures of fertility, women in the labor force, and single family dwelling units are highly correlated with a single factor defined as "urbanization" for urban census tract populations.

Hypothesis 2c: A measure of spatially isolated ethnic groups is highly correlated with a single factor defined as "segregation" for urban census tract populations.

Hypothesis 1 specifies the number of expected factors or columns necessary to account for the major portion of the intercorrelations of the census measures. McNemar's criterion for the number of factors can be used to evaluate the number of factors extracted from the intercorrelations.¹² Hypotheses 2a, 2b, and 2c specify the correlations expected between the measures and factors shown in Table 1. The pattern of correlations can be tested by rotating the axes of an observed factor matrix to the position where they become the best possible least squares approximations of the correlations in the hypothesized matrix. The approximations of the observed correlations to the predicted correlations can be evaluated by the following criteria: for any row or column, the observed correlations corresponding to plus (+) entries must be greater than the observed correlations corresponding to zero (0) entries. That is, a complete pattern of correlations must be obtained in order to accept hypotheses 2a,

2b, and 2c.¹³ The Shevky description of the measures and indexes is acceptable if hypotheses 1, 2a, 2b, and 2c are accepted for relevant applications of the census tract measures.

AVAILABLE INFORMATION

Ten large American cities—Akron, Ohio; Atlanta, Georgia; Birmingham, Alabama; Kansas City, Missouri; Louisville, Kentucky; Minneapolis, Minnesota; Portland, Oregon; Providence, Rhode Island; Rochester, New York; and Seattle, Washington—were chosen for analysis.¹⁴ In selecting the cities, consideration was given to their representativeness in terms of size, geographic distribution by census regions and areal, demographic, economic, and social characteristics.¹⁵

The basic data for the census tract measures are incorporated in the series of census tract bulletins prepared in conjunction with the Seventeenth Decennial Census, taken as of April 1, 1950.¹⁶ Census tracts with less

¹³ Typical criteria for significant correlations in rotated factor matrices regard correlations between measures and factors greater than +.20 as significantly positive, correlations between -.20 and -.20 as equal to zero, and correlations less than -.20 as significantly negative. These criteria emphasize individual correlations, however, rather than the pattern they show. There are no satisfactory criteria known to the authors for evaluating within a system of probability logic the departures of an obtained pattern of correlations from a hypothetical pattern in a rotated factor matrix. This problem may be resolved by establishing criteria which are not evaluated within a probability frame of reference.

¹⁴ The ten cities were selected from a list of twenty cities with between 200,000 and 500,000 population in 1940, as used in Calvin F. Schmid's correlational and scale analyses of the ecological structure of American cities. See Calvin F. Schmid, "Generalizations Concerning the Ecology of the American City," *American Sociological Review*, 15 (February, 1950), pp. 264-281.

¹⁵ For a more extended discussion of these criteria, see Victor Jones, "Economic Classification of Cities and Metropolitan Areas," *The Municipal Yearbook* (1953), pp. 49-54, 69; Howard J. Nelson, "A Service Classification of American Cities," *Economic Geography*, 31 (July, 1955), pp. 189-201; and U. S. Bureau of the Census, *U. S. Census of Population, 1950, Vol. 1, Number of Inhabitants*, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1954, pp. iv-xix.

¹⁶ U. S. Bureau of the Census, *U. S. Census of Population, 1950, Vol. III, Census Tract Statistics*,

¹² Quinn McNemar, "On the Number of Factors," *Psychometrika*, 7 (March, 1942), pp. 9-18.

than 100 total population or more than ten per cent military or other institutional population were excluded from analysis.¹⁷ The measures and the expected dimensions, according to Shevky's formulations, are as follows:

*Social rank dimension*¹⁸

Occupation: 1,000 minus the number of craftsmen, operatives, and laborers per 1,000 employed persons minus persons with occupations not reported.

Education: 1,000 minus the number of persons twenty-five years old and older who have completed no more than grade school per 1,000 persons twenty-five years old and older minus persons with school years not reported.

Urbanization dimension

Fertility: 1,000 minus the number of children under five per 1,000 females fourteen years old and older.

Women in the labor force: the number of females in the labor force per 1,000 females fourteen years old and older.

Single family dwelling units: 1,000 minus the number of single family dwelling units per 1,000 dwelling units.

Segregation dimension

Negro population: the number of Negroes per 1,000 total population.

To make the measures consistent with the expected dimensions, values of the measures of occupation, education, fertility, and single family dwelling units were subtracted from 1,000. With the exception of the segregation

measure, these measures parallel those used in Shevky's and Bell's study of the San Francisco Bay Region for 1950.¹⁹

TESTS OF SHEVKY INDEXES

The census tract measures were computed for the 1950 census tract populations of the ten cities. Ten matrices of product-moment correlation coefficients were computed between the measures for the separate cities.²⁰

Hypothesis 1 specifies that at least three factors are necessary to account for census tract variation with respect to the six measures. Factor matrices of correlations between the measures and factors were derived from the correlation matrices by the multiple-group method of factor analysis;²¹ three factors were extracted by this procedure. Applications of McNemar's criterion²² indicated that there may be more than three factors which may be derived from the correlation matrices of the measures in all of the cities except Rochester; however, the size of the residual correlations was negligible. The hypothesis was accepted that at least three factors are necessary to contain the six census tract measures in each of the separate cities.

¹⁹ The Shevky-Bell indexes of segregation (*op. cit.*, pp. 24-25, 56-57) are based on series of subordinate ethnic groups empirically determined to be spatially isolated. In general, these groups were drawn from non-whites and from foreign-born populations of eastern and southern European extraction. This measure was not used in the present study, since it could not be assumed that all of the groups comprising the Shevky-Bell measure of segregation were uniformly subordinate and isolated throughout the ten cities. The Negro population was accordingly selected as an indicator of segregation for the ten cities.

²⁰ All of the correlations reported in this study represent association of census tract measures and not of the characteristics of the individuals upon which the census tract measures are based. See W. S. Robinson, "Ecological Correlations and the Behavior of Individuals," *American Sociological Review*, 15 (June, 1950), pp. 351-357.

²¹ See L. L. Thurstone, *Multiple Factor Analysis*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1947, pp. 149-170; and Paul Horst, "Simplified Computations for the Multiple Group Method of Factor Analysis," *Educational and Psychological Measurement*, 16 (1956), pp. 101-109. The multiple-group and product-moment correlation matrices are available upon request from the authors.

²² McNemar, "On the Number of Factors," *op. cit.*, pp. 9-18.

U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1952.

¹⁷ In 1950, there was a total of 781 census tracts in the ten cities. Fourteen of these tracts were eliminated from the study, leaving 767 tracts. Census tract designations of the eliminated tracts are as follows: Atlanta-F35, F54; Birmingham-54, 58; Kansas City-1; Minneapolis-46; Portland-54; Rochester-38, 89; and Seattle-D8, F1A, F1C, F2, and L5. The number of tracts included for each of the cities is as follows: Akron, 57; Atlanta, 73; Birmingham, 56; Kansas City, 98; Louisville, 90; Minneapolis, 120; Portland, 60; Providence, 37; Rochester, 87; and Seattle, 89.

¹⁸ The variable, "average rent per capita," used by Bell ("Economic, Family, and Ethnic Status: An Empirical Test," *op. cit.*) was eliminated from this study because of the wide divergences in the percentage of rented dwelling units by census tracts, as well as the continuation of rent controls in many American cities until 1950, the time when these data were compiled.

TABLE 2. ROTATED FACTOR MATRICES, TEN CITIES: 1950*

City and Measure	Factor			City and Measure	Factor		
	SR	U	Seg.		SR	U	Seg.
Akron				Minneapolis			
Occ.	(.933)	.086	.256	Occ.	(.762)	.112	.121
Educ.	(.590)	-.125	-.323	Educ.	(.670)	-.094	-.026
Fert.	.240	(.686)	-.235	Fert.	.152	(.698)	-.205
WLF	-.155	(.827)	-.030	WLF	-.050	(.913)	-.061
SFDU	-.131	(.624)	.144	SFDU	-.084	(.757)	.224
Negro	-.056	-.087	(.636)	Negro	.103	-.050	(.423)
Atlanta				Portland			
Occ.	(.917)	.121	.044	Occ.	(.691)	.238	-.037
Educ.	(.856)	.020	-.402	Educ.	(.709)	-.225	-.046
Fert.	.528	(.457)	.065	Fert.	.011	(.846)	-.333
WLF	.143	(.654)	.196	WLF	-.049	(.940)	-.111
SFDU	-.392	(.696)	-.204	SFDU	.048	(.866)	.442
Negro	-.431	.034	(.662)	Negro	-.051	-.001	(.460)
Birmingham				Providence			
Occ.	(.806)	.209	-.017	Occ.	(.792)	.052	.223
Educ.	(.661)	-.063	-.351	Educ.	(.706)	-.128	.098
Fert.	.492	(.583)	-.126	Fert.	.155	(.444)	-.380
WLF	.164	(.699)	.273	WLF	.002	(.703)	.147
SFDU	-.426	(.852)	-.167	SFDU	-.276	(.288)	.182
Negro	-.438	-.015	(.553)	Negro	.274	-.028	(.516)
Kansas City				Rochester			
Occ.	(.925)	.174	.067	Occ.	(.910)	.126	-.143
Educ.	(.883)	.032	-.211	Educ.	(.822)	-.124	-.179
Fert.	.613	(.523)	.139	Fert.	.292	(.662)	-.014
WLF	.016	(.901)	-.070	WLF	-.185	(.794)	-.220
SFDU	-.316	(.805)	-.003	SFDU	-.105	(.522)	.332
Negro	-.268	.080	(.503)	Negro	-.036	.074	(.524)
Louisville				Seattle			
Occ.	(.833)	.043	.142	Occ.	(.848)	.110	.213
Educ.	(.712)	-.013	-.195	Educ.	(.631)	-.181	-.257
Fert.	.360	(.483)	-.086	Fert.	.030	(.859)	-.159
WLF	.028	(.516)	.155	WLF	.040	(.907)	-.085
SFDU	-.334	(.563)	-.091	SFDU	-.132	(.743)	.162
Negro	-.075	-.017	(.444)	Negro	-.039	-.080	(.592)

* See Table 1 for explanation of abbreviations.

Hypotheses 2a, 2b, and 2c express expected correlations of census tract measures, with the three factors verified by tests of the first hypothesis. As shown in Table 2 the multiple-group factor matrices for the cities were rotated to least-squares approximations of the hypothesized matrix of Table 1.²³ The parentheses in Table 2 indicate those measure-factor correlations specified by the hypotheses as having the highest positive

values. The rotated matrices reproduce all eighteen of the hypothesized measure-factor correlations for Akron, Birmingham, Louisville, Minneapolis, Portland, Providence, Rochester, and Seattle; therefore hypotheses 2a, 2b, and 2c were accepted for these cities. The rotated matrices for Atlanta and Kansas City reproduce sixteen of the eighteen hypothesized measure-factor correlations. For each of these two cities, the correlation of fertility with the social rank factor was higher than with the urbanization factor requiring rejection of hypotheses 2a and 2b.

In summary, at least three factors were necessary to account for census tract varia-

²³ See Paul Horst and K. W. Schaie, "The Multiple Group Method of Factor Analysis and Rotation to a Simple Structure Hypothesis," *Journal of Experimental Education*, 24 (March, 1956), pp. 231-237.

tion in each of the ten cities studied, and the six census tract measures were related to the dimensions in the manner specified by Shevky in eight of the cities. While the factor analysis techniques did not produce exactly the structure of the dimensions specified by Shevky in two of the cities, 176 of 180 total correlations in the rotated matrices were established as hypothesized. The Shevky indexes appear to have high generality for the cities of this study.

ALTERNATIVE ANALYSES

It is possible that the rejection of the Shevky hypotheses in two cities was due to chance factors alone. On the other hand, a systematic reinterpretation of the Shevky dimensions may contribute to further understanding of the nature of the measures used in this study.

Atlanta and Kansas City are the two cities for which hypotheses were not confirmed. Atlanta, together with Birmingham and Louisville, is in the U. S. Bureau of the Census Southern Census Division, while Kansas City is a border city in the North Central Census Division. Table 2 indicates that Atlanta, Birmingham, Louisville, and Kansas City are characterized by higher positive correlations of fertility with social rank than are the remaining six cities. The populations of these four cities include relatively large proportions of Negroes. This fact, combined especially with the unfavorable economic position of the Negroes, may indicate that the range of family forms in these cities, as described by the fertility measure, has not become disassociated from

social rank.²⁴ These considerations suggest a modified factor analysis model for Atlanta and Kansas City, and an alternative model for Birmingham and Louisville, with fertility designated as a component of social rank rather than a component of the urbanization dimension.

An alternative model also may be described for Providence. Table 2 shows that the single family dwelling units measure has a fairly high negative correlation with social rank for most cities. The absolute value of this correlation for Providence ($-.276$), however, approximates the absolute value of the correlation of single family dwelling units with urbanization (.288). The small proportion of single family dwelling units and the high population density in Providence suggest that considerable value may be attached to single family dwelling units and that possession of such dwellings is associated in some degree with occupational and educational attainments. If this is the case, the proportion of single family dwelling units in a census tract may then be associated with social rank rather than with urbanization.

The expected factorial structure of the alternative models is shown in Table 3. These models were tested by the same procedures used in the original factor analyses. The axes of the initial multiple-group measure-factor matrices for the five cities were

²⁴ See Shevky and Bell, *op. cit.*, p. 13. Among the ten cities, Birmingham, Atlanta, Louisville, and Kansas City rank from one to four respectively in the proportions of their populations classified as Negro in the 1950 census.

TABLE 3. ALTERNATIVE FACTOR MODELS: 1950 * †

Measure	Atlanta, Birmingham, Kansas City, Louisville			Measure	Providence		
	SR	U	Seg.		SR	U	Seg.
Occ.	+	0	0	Occ.	+	0	0
Educ.	+	0	0	Educ.	+	0	0
Fert.	+	0	0	Fert.	0	+	0
WLF	0	+	0	WLF	0	+	0
SFDU	0	+	0	SFDU	—	0	0
Negro	0	0	+	Negro	0	0	+

* + denotes high positive correlation.

0 denotes low correlation.

— denotes high negative correlation.

† See Table 1 for explanation of abbreviations.

TABLE 4. ROTATED FACTOR MATRICES FOR
ALTERNATIVE MODELS: 1950 *

City and Measure	Factor †	
	SR	U
Atlanta		
Occ.	(.966)	-.071
Educ.	(.768)	-.070
Fert.	(.695)	.293
WLF	.406	(.515)
SFDU	-.206	(.721)
Negro	-.266	-.006
Birmingham		
Occ.	(.902)	.010
Educ.	(.673)	-.219
Fert.	(.700)	.427
WLF	.386	(.621)
SFDU	-.165	(.887)
Negro	-.473	.100
Kansas City		
Occ.	(.857)	-.098
Educ.	(.678)	-.083
Fert.	(.682)	(.201)
WLF	.148	(.696)
SFDU	-.127	(.670)
Negro	-.006	-.083
Louisville		
Occ.	(.949)	-.078
Educ.	(.848)	-.174
Fert.	(.678)	.416
WLF	.264	(.551)
SFDU	-.076	(.619)
Negro	-.185	.074
Providence		
Occ.	(.859)	.131
Educ.	(.863)	-.013
Fert.	.227	(.583)
WLF	-.274	(.615)
SFDU	(-.507)	.155
Negro	.116	-.150

* See Table 1 for explanation of abbreviations.

† Factors for segregation index same as in Table 2.

rotated to their respective models. Table 4 indicates the measure-factor correlations in the rotated matrices for the social rank and urbanization factors.²⁵ Measure-factor correlations with the highest expected values are indicated in parentheses.

When pattern criteria for the rotated matrices for Atlanta, Birmingham, Kansas City, and Louisville were applied, all of the factor loadings specified in the alternative

²⁵ As no further rotations were made of the segregation axes, the correlations of the measures with the segregation factor are identical with Table 2.

model for these cities were reproduced. The measure-factor correlations of fertility with social rank were greater than with urbanization for each city. The correlations of fertility with urbanization in Table 4 may be compared with the same correlations for the tests of the Shevky hypotheses in Table 2. For each city, the correlations were less than in the rotated matrices obtained in the tests of the Shevky hypotheses. An examination of Table 4 shows that all of the factor loadings specified in the alternative model for Providence were reproduced. The measure-factor correlation of single family dwelling units with urbanization was less than in the rotated matrix obtained in the test of the Shevky hypotheses.

Due to possible chance fluctuations in the original factor analyses and the *ex post facto* nature of the analyses for the alternative models, no priority can be claimed for the latter. Furthermore, it is possible to satisfy the conditions for other models within the framework of factor analysis. The utility of the alternative models, as based on the census tract measures used in this study, remains to be demonstrated.

INTERCORRELATIONS OF DIMENSIONS

Shevky has not specified the form of the interrelations of the social rank, urbanization, and segregation dimensions. Presumably the dimensions become differentiated in a process of urban development and would not be found in folk society. Shevky has not described the point, however, at which such

TABLE 5. CORRELATIONS BETWEEN PRIMARY FACTORS,
TEN CITIES: 1950 *

City	Factor		
	SR-U	SR-Seg.	U-Seg.
Akron	-.143	-.462	.344
Atlanta	.224	-.015	.243
Birmingham	.097	-.379	.300
Kansas City	.003	-.149	.317
Louisville	.174	-.305	.572
Minneapolis	.002	-.675	.047
Portland	.055	-.573	-.048
Providence	.026	-.752	.099
Rochester	.117	-.217	.259
Seattle	.122	-.454	.237

* SR denotes social rank; U, urbanization; and Seg, segregation.

differentiation takes place. Knowledge of the association of the dimensions becomes important as a basis for further evaluations of the Shevky theory.

In the reported factor analysis tests, the social rank, urbanization, and segregation factors were allowed to assume whatever relationships were necessary to best fit the predicted models. Factor correlations were computed from the original rotated matrices for all cities.²⁶ As Table 5 indicates, these correlations show a rather consistent pattern. The low correlations, ranging from $-.143$ in Akron to $.224$ in Atlanta, between social rank and urbanization factors, indicate that they are almost independent of each other. The segregation factor, however, is related to both social rank and to urbanization. Correlations of segregation with social rank are consistently negative for the separate cities and range from $-.015$ in Atlanta to $-.752$ in Providence. Segregation is positively correlated with urbanization, with values varying from effectively zero in Portland to $.344$ in Akron.

SUMMARY AND COMMENT

This research is concerned with the empirical generality of the Shevky system of social area analysis. The factor analysis tests

²⁶ These correlations were computed according to procedures reported by Thurstone, *op. cit.*, pp. 137-138.

of hypotheses show that the present form of the Shevky system has high generality for the cities included in this study. Although the Shevky measures do appear to differentiate social rank, urbanization, and segregation factors in the spatial patterning of cities, minor variation is observed in the internal structure of these factors. It is not known whether the variation from the Shevky system has occurred by chance. Alternative models of the measures and dimensions were described for some of the cities, but due to the *ex post facto* nature of this portion of the analysis, no priority can be claimed for the alternative models over the Shevky model. It remains to be demonstrated whether the alternative models are an artifact of the particular set of measures used in this study or provide a useful device for the reinterpretation of the Shevky theory.

This study focusses upon the general empirical validity of the Shevky indexes. The tests of hypotheses concerning the construction of indexes and measures are not at the level of the theoretical constructs defined by the Shevky theory. No tests have been made of the Shevky theory, the adequacy of the integration of the indexes with that theory, or of the utility of the Shevky model or the alternative models for testing significant hypotheses concerning population differentiation. These matters should be investigated further. Such investigation may be facilitated by the results of this research.

VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATION MEMBERSHIPS OF AMERICAN ADULTS: EVIDENCE FROM NATIONAL SAMPLE SURVEYS

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INTRODUCTION

SEVERAL recent studies have demonstrated the need for a thorough reappraisal of the commonly held belief that Americans are a nation of joiners. For example, Komarovsky¹ and Axelrod² have provided

evidence for urban dwellers, to whom such behavior has been especially attributed, that membership in a large number of associations is not characteristic of many Ameri-

tions of Urban Dwellers," *American Sociological Review*, 11 (December, 1946), pp. 686-698.

² Morris Axelrod, "Urban Structure and Social Participation," *American Sociological Review*, 21 (February, 1956), pp. 13-18.

¹ Mirra Komarovsky, "The Voluntary Associa-

cans and is far from universally distributed throughout the various segments of the population.

Unfortunately, most investigators of the problem have had to work within serious limitations imposed by the nature of their data. In some instances, the sampling procedures available to the investigator could not provide adequate data.³ In other instances, while the researcher was fortunate enough to have access to representative samples, the findings relate to such circumscribed and limited universes as small local communities, a single metropolis, or one social class within a particular city.⁴ What has been missing in the literature is evidence of the voluntary association memberships of Americans in general and of important sub-groups within the nation, derived from adequate sampling of the general population. The present paper provides data that partially meet this need.

More specifically, the paper presents evidence bearing on the following problems: (1) the pattern of membership in voluntary associations of adult Americans in general, and of specific sub-groups, such as racial and religious minorities; (2) some correlates of membership which might be considered determinants, for example, socioeconomic status, urban or rural residence; and (3) some of the correlates of member-

ship which might be considered consequences of significance to theories about such functions of voluntary association membership for society as interest in politics, voting, and charitable activity.

METHOD AND DATA

Solutions of these problems are provided by secondary analysis of recent survey data, where the universes studied often approximate the national adult population and where the samples have been drawn through probability designs. Through good fortune, a number of nationwide and local surveys conducted by the National Opinion Research Center⁵ have contained one or more questions on voluntary association memberships. These items provide substantial information on the actual magnitude and pattern of voluntary association membership of the American people and of sub-groups within the general population. Secondary analysis of these surveys can also provide evidence about numerous sociological determinants of membership, which have figured in past speculative discussions but have seldom been supported by much empirical data, for example, the effect of urbanization upon membership. In addition, the surveys often contain data on possible determinants of membership which have rarely been treated, either speculatively or empirically, in past writings. Thus data are available on various situational factors which might facilitate or impede membership and participation, such as parenthood, residential mobility, travel time to work, and the like. For many of these latter analyses, it is necessary to consult sample surveys which were conducted on local rather than national populations, but here too all the inquiries have the merit of being based on large samples drawn by a probability design. Therefore, though limited to the cities or counties involved, they still constitute reliable evidence concerning hypotheses based on representative sampling. Finally, by secondary analysis tabulation of voluntary association membership is possible, not only by hypothesized determinants, but also by the customary questions asked

³ For example, Komarovsky's study was based on responses of persons contacted at places of employment or other organizational meetings, hence not purporting to be a representative sample of New York adults. *Op. cit.*

⁴ For example, see the following studies: Scott Greer, "Urbanism Reconsidered: A Comparative Study of Local Areas in a Metropolis," *American Sociological Review*, 21 (February, 1956), pp. 19-25; Wendell Bell and Maryanne T. Force, "Urban Neighborhood Types and Participation in Formal Associations," *American Sociological Review*, 21 (February, 1956), pp. 25-34; Herbert Goldhamer, "Some Factors Affecting Participation in Voluntary Associations," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation (microfilmed), University of Chicago, 1942; Morris Axelrod, *op. cit.*; Floyd Dotson, "Patterns of Voluntary Association Among Urban Working-Class Families," *American Sociological Review*, 16 (October, 1951), pp. 687-693; Mirra Komarovsky, *op. cit.* Thus Greer's study used two census tracts within Los Angeles; Bell and Force employed four tracts within San Francisco; Goldhamer's study is confined to Chicago, Axelrod's to Detroit, Dotson's to New Haven, and Komarovsky's to New York City.

⁵ The authors wish to acknowledge their indebtedness to N.O.R.C. and to its director, Clyde Hart, who made the data available for secondary analysis, and to Jack Feldman, who provided many special tabulations.

in such surveys about attitudes, opinions, interests, conduct, and so on. In this manner, some empirical perspective can be obtained on the fundamental question of the functions of organizational membership for citizens in a democratic society.

Admittedly there are serious limitations to such secondary analysis. Foremost among these is the reliance put upon questions not primarily designed for the study of voluntary association memberships. Since data on such memberships were only incidental to the primary purposes of the surveys, the questioning in this area is not as thorough as would be desired. Furthermore, the wording of questions about membership varies from study to study, hence complicating the analysis. Nevertheless, we believe that these inherent limitations of secondary analysis are more than offset by the gains which have been outlined above.

The bulk of the analysis to be presented is based on two national probability samples of the adult, non-institutionalized population of the United States, over 21 years of age. The first sample contains 2,809 men and women, and the second 2,379. The studies were conducted in the years 1953 and 1955. In addition to the national data, findings on voluntary association membership were available for representative samples from NORC studies of the following localities: a large metropolitan area (New York metropolitan area represented by a probability sample of 1,053 cases drawn in 1951); a medium sized Western metropolis (Denver represented by a probability sample of 920 cases obtained in the spring of 1949); a small city and surrounding county (Findley and Hancock County, Ohio, represented by 535 cases drawn in May, 1952). The local findings on magnitude of membership and its social distribution are not presented in detail, although, where confirmation or contradiction occurs, some brief reference will be made. They will be used to examine hypotheses about particular variables, however, which are not demonstrable on a national scale.

FINDINGS

Memberships of Americans

Data from the national surveys confirm the conclusions drawn by previous researchers based on local studies, which showed that

a sizeable group of Americans are not members of any voluntary associations and that only a minority belong to more than one such organization. Table 1 presents data from two surveys, one of which inquired about the voluntary association membership of *any* member of the family, the other survey pertained to activities of the respondent himself. Calculated either way, voluntary association membership is not a major characteristic of Americans. Nearly half of the families (47 per cent) and almost two-thirds of the respondents (64 per cent) belong to no voluntary associations. About a third of the families (31 per cent) and a fifth of the respondents belong to only one such organization. Only about a fifth of the families (21 per cent) and a sixth of the respondents (16 per cent) belong to two or more organizations. These findings hardly warrant the impression that Americans are a nation of joiners.⁶

⁶ To some extent, the open-ended form of the questions in the national studies might have reduced the proportion of memberships reported insofar as respondent recall might be faulty. There is some indication, however, that the impact of question format was not great in this instance. In the Denver study a card listing several types of organizations was handed to the respondent before he reported memberships. Under these conditions, 36 per cent of the Denverites reported that they belonged to no organizations, including unions. In the 1953 national survey, which used an open-ended question, 39 per cent of the urbanites living in large cities (1,000,000 or more) and 42 per cent of those living in any sizeable city (50,000 or more) reported no organizational memberships, including unions, for anyone in their family.

Obviously, primary research on voluntary association membership would require more and different questioning in this area, including check lists of organizations, investigation of the meaning of "belonging" to the respondent, etc. The data used in the current secondary analysis, however, were obtained from studies in which information on membership was only incidental to the primary purposes of the surveys, for which the open-ended questions sufficed. Confidence in the interpretation of the findings as indicative of low membership among Americans is increased through the use of data from several national and local surveys, which support one another, in general, despite variations in the wording of questions.

Of course, this is not to dispute the fact that, from a comparative point of view, Americans may be more prone to such membership than other national groups. Such a mode of analysis is illustrated, for example, by Arnold Rose, *Theory and Method in the Social Sciences*, Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1954, pp. 72-115.

TABLE 1. MEMBERSHIP IN VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS FOR TWO NATIONAL CROSS-SECTIONS OF AMERICAN ADULTS, 1953 AND 1955

Number of Voluntary Associations	Percentage of Families Whose Members Belong to Organizations as Indicated (1953) ^a	Percentage of Adults Who Were Members of the Organizations, as Indicated (1955) ^b
None	47	64
One	31	20
Two	12	9
Three	5	4
Four or more	4	3
Unknown	1	0
	100%	100%
Total	(2,809)	(2,379)

^a "Does anyone in the family belong to any sort of club, lodge, fraternal order, or union with ten or more members in it?" If yes, "What organization? Any other?" (Source: NORC Survey 335.)

^b Union membership is not included in these data because the interviewing on organizational membership during this part of the survey concerned associations other than union. The question was, "Do you happen to belong to any groups or organizations in the community here? If yes, "Which ones? Any other?" (Source: NORC Survey 367.)

Data on the types of organizations to which Americans belong are also revealing. In the 1953 survey, which contained an account of organizations to which any family member belonged, only two (unions and fraternal or secret societies) have relatively large memberships, 23 per cent and 19 per cent respectively. Next in order are neighborhood-ethnic-special interest groups (8 per cent), veterans' organizations (7 per cent), civic organizations (5 per cent), church sponsored organizations (3 per cent), youth organizations (2 per cent), and professional and learned societies (2 per cent). These findings provide national perspective on the data recorded by former studies of local populations, such as the Detroit Area Study, in which unions and fraternal organizations also accounted for more of the citizens' voluntary memberships than any other type of association.⁷

⁷ Axelrod, *op. cit.* Also see *A Social Profile of Detroit: 1952*. A report of the Detroit Area Study, Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1952, pp. 13-19.

Racial and Religious Subgroups

Table 2 presents figures on the membership patterns for two types of subgroups within American society: racial and religious. Comparison of Negro and white respondents shows that voluntary association membership is somewhat more characteristic of whites than Negroes. Less than half (46 per cent) of the white families and 63 per cent of the white respondents belong to no associations in contrast to 60 per cent of the Negro families and 73 per cent of the Negro adults. And nearly a quarter (23 per cent) of the white families belong to two or more organizations in contrast to only 11 per cent of the Negro families.

Differences in rates of membership also distinguish the major religious subgroups of

TABLE 2. VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATION MEMBERSHIPS OF RACIAL AND RELIGIOUS SUBGROUPS BASED ON NATIONAL SAMPLES

(A) Family Data (1953)	Per Cent of Families Whose Members Belong to:			
	No Organization	One	Two or More	N (100%)
Race ^a				
Negro	60	29	11	279
White	46	31	23	2,472
Religion ^b				
Jewish	31	37	32	99
Catholic	44	34	22	579
Protestant	49	30	21	1,992
(Source: NORC Survey 335.)				
(B) Respondent Data (1955)	Per Cent of Respondents Who Belong to:			
	No Organization	One	Two or More	N (100%)
Race ^a				
Negro	73	18	9	229
White	63	20	17	2,139
Religion ^c				
Jewish	45	25	30	71
Protestant	63	20	17	1,701
Catholic	69	17	14	519

^a Figures exclude 58 cases of other races or of unknown race.

^b Figures exclude 139 cases who report some other religion or none at all.

^c Figures exclude 11 cases of other races.

^d Figures exclude 88 cases who report some other religion or none at all.

(Source: NORC Survey 367.)

the population. Whether measured on a family or individual basis, the highest rate of membership is found among the Jews. On a family basis, the next highest participants in voluntary associations are the Catholics (56 per cent), and the least active are the Protestants (51 per cent). Data on individual memberships, however, are different, with a higher percentage of Protestants than Catholics belonging to any organizations.

Interesting comparisons with national data on memberships of religious subgroups are available from the local studies of New York City and Denver. In both cities the ordering of memberships agrees with the national sample on individual memberships: the rate of membership is highest for Jews, next for Protestants and lowest for Catholics. In New York, 64 per cent of the Jewish respondents reported membership in at least one voluntary association, 54 per cent of the Protestants and 37 per cent of the Catholics. In Denver, the membership rates were 77 per cent for Jews, 65 per cent for Protestants and 55 per cent for Catholics. Thus the Catholic membership rates in these urban settings appear lower than those of the Jews and Protestants, as in the 1955 national survey.⁸

Social Stratification and Membership

On the local level, several studies have demonstrated a relationship between the social status of the respondent, as measured by a variety of indices, and membership in voluntary associations.⁹ These studies generally agree that there is an increase in the percentage of memberships in formal associations the higher the status of the respondents. The magnitude of the difference in membership between classes varies considerably, however, from study to study. For example, Komarovsky found that 60 per cent of working class men in her sample of New Yorkers belonged to no voluntary association in contrast to only 53 per cent of

white collar workers. Similarly Dotson's study of families in New Haven reported that 70 per cent of the working class adults in his sample belonged to no organizations. On the other hand, Bell and Force in a recent study of San Francisco report that even in low status neighborhoods about three-quarters of the men belong to at least one formal group.

Data from the national samples support the correlation between social status and membership. Table 3 presents data on the membership of the 1955 sample classified by five indices of social status: family income, education of respondent, interviewer's rating of family's level of living, occupation of head of household, and home ownership. Whichever index of status is used, an appreciably higher percentage of persons in higher status positions belong to voluntary associations than do persons of lower status. For example, fully 76 per cent of the respondents whose family income falls below 2,000 dollars do not belong to any organizations in contrast to only 48 per cent of those whose income is 7,500 dollars or more. Furthermore, there is an increase in the percentage of persons who belong to several organizations as social status increases. For example, only 7 per cent of the lowest income group belong to two or more associations in contrast to 30 per cent of the highest income group. Similar findings are obtained from inspection of the data on education, level of living, occupation, and home ownership, as examination of Table 3 reveals.¹⁰

One set of findings warrant special mention. The pattern of voluntary association membership among different occupational levels indicates even less participation among

⁸ These findings are consistent with those reported by Bell and Force, *op. cit.*, from their study in San Francisco during 1953. They not only found that Protestants were more likely than Catholics to belong to formal associations but also that the relationship persisted even when economic level was controlled.

⁹ See, for example, Komarovsky, *op. cit.*; Dotson, *op. cit.*, and Bell and Force, *op. cit.*

¹⁰ Data from the 1953 sample on family participation in voluntary associations generally corroborated the findings presented above and hence are not reproduced here. In addition, several of the local studies contain data in support of the relationships described. For example, home ownership data were available in Denver and provided an opportunity to examine the influence of this factor within an urban setting. Here, as on the national level, home owners were more likely to be members than were renters, 67 per cent versus 59 per cent respectively. And in New York, families employing domestic help were more likely to be members than those without help, 73 per cent versus 45 per cent.

TABLE 3. INDICES OF STRATIFICATION AND VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATION MEMBERSHIP, 1955*

	Per Cent Who Belong to:			
	No Organization	One Organization	Two or More	No. of Cases (100%)
A. Income level				
Under \$2,000	76	17	7	385
2,000-2,999	71	17	12	304
3,000-3,999	71	18	11	379
4,000-4,999	65	21	14	450
5,000-7,499	57	22	21	524
7,500 and over	48	22	30	328
B. Education				
0-6 years	83	12	5	348
7-8 years	73	17	10	522
9-11 years	67	20	13	495
12 years	57	23	20	610
1-3 yrs. of college	46	24	30	232
4 yrs. college or more	39	25	36	170
C. Level of living (Interviewer's rating)				
Very low	92	7	1	125
Below average	81	14	5	580
Average	61	22	17	1,318
Above average	43	25	32	288
Very high	18	18	64	44
D. Occupation				
Professional	47	24	29	259
Prop., mgrs., officials	47	24	29	294
Farm owners	58	28	14	265
Clerical and sales	59	21	20	240
Skilled labor	68	19	13	447
Semi-skilled labor	77	14	9	492
Service	73	18	9	142
Non-farm labor	79	16	5	155
Farm labor	87	13	0	54
Retired, unemployed	77	11	12	35
E. Home ownership				
Owens home	57	22	21	1,407
Rents	75	16	9	968

* Data exclude union membership.

(Source: NORC Survey 367.)

blue collar workers than had been noted in previous local studies. For example, from 68 to 87 per cent of the blue collar workers belong to no organizations (not counting union membership), in contrast to 59 per cent of the white collar workers and 47 per cent of the businessmen and professionals. The higher rate of voluntary association membership among businessmen and professionals is clearly documented by the national data, which show that 29 per cent of the members of these two occupational categories belong to two or more organizations, in contrast with only 5 to 13 per

cent of the blue collar workers. These data extend to the national level a relationship noted by Komarovsky in her New York study, namely that it is only in the business and professional classes that the majority is formally organized.

Urbanization and Voluntary Association Membership

Voluntary associations customarily have been identified as characteristic of the urban way of life, and membership in such associations has been assumed to be more common for city residents than rural people. Recent

observers, however, have noted that the spread of urbanization in America is reducing such differences between city and country. Williams,¹¹ for example, has noted that "Formally organized special-interest associations are most highly developed in urban areas, but have increasingly pervaded the open country as well." Nevertheless, we have lacked specific information on the differential rates of voluntary association membership of residents of various sized communities. A breakdown of national survey

per cent of those living in the least urbanized or predominantly rural counties. Thus some correlation appears between the degree of urbanization and voluntary association membership, although the difference between the most urban and least urban counties is not great.

But the type of county is only a crude index of the social atmosphere within which the citizen lives. Within each county, for example, there are areas of more and less urban nature. Therefore a finer breakdown

TABLE 4. URBANISM AND VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATION MEMBERSHIP, 1953

Per Cent of Families Whose Members Belong to:	Place of Residence								
	Metropolitan Counties (with City of 50,000 or more)			Other Urbanized Counties (with City of 10-50,000)			Primarily Rural Counties (Have No Town of 10,000)		
	Urban Residence	Rural Non-farm	Rural Farm	Urban	RNF	RF	Urban	RNF	RF
No organization	42	40	67	46	46	53	54	52	70
One organization	33	37	21	36	34	28	27	24	21
Two or more organizations	25	23	12	18	20	19	19	24	9
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Cases	1,394	193	48	294	115	134	110	264	252

(Source: NORC Survey 335.)

data provides considerable information on this question.

From the 1953 national survey it is possible to determine the number of associational affiliations of family members living in counties of varying degrees of urbanization, taking the size of the largest city in the county as a crude index of its degree of urbanism. Three types of counties can be examined: (1) highly urbanized counties, those with at least one city of 50,000 population or more; (2) moderately urbanized, with at least one city of 10,000 to 50,000 population; and (3) least urbanized, having no city of 10,000 or more. Examination of the memberships of residents of these three types of counties reveals that only 57 per cent of the families who live in highly urbanized counties have members in at least one voluntary association, 53 per cent of those in moderately urbanized counties, and 41

is desirable in order to determine more precisely the relationship between urbanism and membership in voluntary associations. Table 4 presents data on membership according to urban, rural non-farm, and rural farm residences within each type of county.

Several interesting findings emerge. First, it appears that, with one exception (rural farm residents in moderately urbanized counties) the relationship between urbanization of county and membership in voluntary associations persists. That is, more of the residents of highly urbanized counties belong to organizations than do persons living in similar types of neighborhoods but in less urbanized counties. For example, only 42 per cent of the urbanites in highly urbanized counties belong to no organization, in contrast with 46 per cent of the urbanites in moderately urbanized counties, and 54 per cent in the least urbanized.

Secondly, within each type of county, rural farm residence is more closely associated with non-membership than is either

¹¹ Robin Williams, *American Society: A Sociological Interpretation*, New York: Alfred Knopf, 1951, pp. 467-468.

rural non-farm or urban residence. For example, within highly urbanized counties 67 per cent of the rural farm residents belong to no voluntary association, in contrast to only 40 per cent of the rural non-farm residents and 42 per cent of the urbanites.¹²

Third, there is no appreciable difference between the membership rates of urbanites and rural non-farm residents within any type of county. This finding, in connection with the second, suggests an interesting hypothesis about the spread of urbanism into American suburban and rural areas. If the countryside were becoming urbanized then one might expect that rural-urban differences would be minimal in counties which contained large cities and maximal in counties still rural. Such is not the case, at least with respect to voluntary association membership. True, the urban pattern of membership prevails in rural non-farm areas but it does not extend to rural farms. Furthermore, an anomaly (requiring further substantiation) appears in that rural farm persons living in *moderately* urbanized counties resemble their urban and rural non-farm neighbors more than do ruralites in either highly urbanized or heavily rural counties. Perhaps this finding means that rural-urban differences in general are polarized—being greatest in both highly urban and highly rural counties and least in partially urbanized areas.

Some Situational Determinants of Membership

In this section some data from the Denver survey are examined to clarify certain situational factors which might be presumed to affect urban participation in voluntary associations. Specifically, data are presented on the effect of length of residence in the community, length of residence at the same

address, type of residence (for example, single family dwelling versus apartment), travel time to work, and family status (for example, single, married with children or without children). The presumed influence of such factors is illustrated by the hypothesis that long-time residents in the community or in the neighborhood are more likely to be involved in formal organizations. Or, persons living in apartments might be expected to participate less in voluntary associations than those living in single family dwellings. Persons who spend less time commuting to work, it may be argued, should have more time to devote to organizations and therefore should show a higher incidence of membership. Similarly, single men and women, who are unencumbered by children, might have more spare time and hence be more apt to belong to voluntary groups. Table 5 presents data which fail to support several of these arguments.

None of the residential factors shows a systematic relationship with the incidence of affiliation with voluntary associations. For example, persons born in Denver are hardly more likely to belong to voluntary associations than those who have arrived recently.¹³ Apartment dwellers are slightly more likely to be voluntary association members than persons renting houses. Commuters who spend more than 45 minutes getting to work are about as likely to belong to organizations

¹² The higher incidence of organizational membership among urban residents in contrast with their rural neighbors also was evident in the Hancock County, Ohio survey. In this survey a distinction was made between the residents of a small town (Findley, pop. approximately 24,000) and persons in the surrounding county. Fifty-six per cent of the Findley townspeople belonged to some voluntary association, in contrast to 49 per cent of the ruralites. For a recent summary of some surveys on rural memberships see Raymond Payne, "Some Comparisons of Participation in Rural Mississippi, Kentucky, Ohio, Illinois, and New York," *Rural Sociology*, 18 (June, 1953), pp. 171-172.

¹³ These data are consistent with those obtained in Hancock County, Ohio where 51 per cent of the persons who had resided in the county for 20 years or more were members of voluntary associations, 57 per cent of the 10-19 year residents were members, 58 per cent of the 5-8 year residents, and 57 per cent of the persons living there less than five years. The survey was conducted in May 1952. On the other hand, Zimmer, in a study of married men in a mid-western community of 20,000, found that membership in formal organizations increased directly with length of time in the community. Zimmer's relationship persisted within age, occupational and educational control categories. See Basil Zimmer, "Participation of Migrants in Urban Structures," *American Sociological Review*, 20 (April, 1955), pp. 218-224. And a recent study in Spokane, Washington indicates a relationship between mobility and voluntary association membership; see Howard Freeman, Edwin Novak and Leo Reeder, "Correlates of Membership in Voluntary Associations," *American Sociological Review*, 22 (October, 1957), pp. 528-533.

TABLE 5. SOME SITUATIONAL DETERMINANTS OF VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATION MEMBERSHIP: EVIDENCE FROM DENVER SURVEY

	Percentage of Each Type Who Belong to Voluntary Associations	No. of Cases in Base
A. Residential history		
Born in Denver or lived there at least 20 yrs.	65	504
Lived in Denver less than 20 years	62	404
Lived in Denver at present address over 20 years	63	200
Lived at present address for 5 to 20 years	67	346
Lived at present address less than 5 years	60	358
B. Residential mobility		
Moved to Denver from place of under 2,500 population	61	272
Moved from place of 2,500 to 25,000 population	60	205
Moved from place larger than 25,000	64	281
C. Type of residence		
Single family house rented	57	81
Multiple family dwelling, rented	59	165
Apartment building, rented	60	117
Owned, all types of dwelling	67	512
D. Travel time to work		
45 minutes or more daily	60	81
35-44 minutes	70	185
30-34 minutes	64	256
25-29 minutes	66	192
Less than 25 minutes	57	205
E. Family status		
Men: Not married	66	79
Married, no children under 18 yrs. old	74	182
Married, with children under 18 yrs. old	82	162
Women: Not married	51	149
Married, no children under 18 yrs. old	53	174
Married, with children under 18 yrs. old	56	174

(Source: Denver Community Survey, NORC-12B.)

as are those people who have to travel only 25 minutes or less.

Only two of these situational factors—home ownership and family status—seem related to voluntary association membership. Home ownership as a determinant of membership, as brought out above, is related to social stratification. The data on family status show that married persons are more likely to be members of organizations than single persons; and that men and women with children are more likely to be members than childless couples. One might hypothesize that children—and perhaps the expectation of children—draw adults into participation in the voluntary associations in the urban community. This finding corroborates that of Janowitz in his study of Chicago residents in which he notes that neighborhood involvement often centers around activities connected with the rearing of children in a metropolis. As Janowitz remarks, on the neighborhood level, “children are not only the best neighbors in the community but they lead their parents to neighborhood community participation and orientation.”¹⁴

Civic Involvement of Voluntary Association Membership

In this final section, data from the Denver Survey are presented which demonstrate psychological and behavioral differences between citizens who are members and those who are not members of formal organizations. Admittedly the data do not indicate that such differences can be attributed solely to the respondents' patterns of associational membership. Clearly several factors already established as correlates of membership (for example, high socio-economic status, occupation, place of residence) may also account for differences in political interest, voting and charitable acts of members and non-members. The authors feel, however, that comparison of members and non-members without controlling these associated factors is proper insofar as the purpose is solely to describe the differences between persons who

¹⁴ Morris Janowitz, *The Community Press in an Urban Setting*, Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1952, p. 124. Janowitz's remark is made in connection with family structure as a determinant of readership of the community press, but its import extends to other forms of involvement in community activities.

TABLE 6. POLITICAL INTERESTS AND BEHAVIOR ASSOCIATED WITH VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATION MEMBERSHIP: EVIDENCE FROM DENVER SURVEY, 1949

	Persons Who Were Members of:	
	No Organizations	One or More Organizations
A. Per cent who said they take "a great deal" of interest in:		
Presidential elections	73	84
Unemployment in the U.S.	53	57
The Denver public schools	33	50
City planning in Denver	31	50
Labor relations	31	45
The situation of Denver Negroes	23	35
B. Per cent who voted in each of the following elections:		
1944 Presidential	36	40
1946 Congressional	27	36
1947 City charter	15	24
1948 Primary	24	34
C. Per cent who report making a contribution to the Community Chest in Denver	56%	72%
Total cases	335	585

(Source: Denver Community Survey, NORC-12B.)

are or are not members of voluntary associations, regardless of the ultimate causes of such differences.¹⁵ Hence Table 6 presents simple comparisons between the formally organized and unorganized, concerning their interest in political topics, voting records, and contributions to charity.

Several measures of interest in public affairs (including presidential elections, unemployment, labor relations, minority problems, public schools, and city planning) indicate that persons belonging to voluntary associations are more concerned with such topics than are non-members. For example, fully

84 per cent of the Denverites who belonged to any voluntary association said they took a great deal of interest in presidential elections, in contrast with only 73 per cent of the non-members. And members were more likely than non-members to be interested in city planning, 50 per cent to 31 per cent respectively.

Political interest is backed by participation in the political process, insofar as participation is measured by voting. Data on behavior in four elections—the 1944 Presidential, 1946 Congressional, 1947 City Charter, and 1948 Primary—indicate in every instance a greater percentage of voting among Denverites who were members of voluntary associations than among non-members.

Finally, in the non-political sphere of community life, charity, 72 per cent of the persons belonging to associations reported having made a contribution to the Community Chest in Denver, in contrast to 56 per cent of the non-members.

Thus three separate measures—interest in social issues, voting, and support of community charities—show that voluntary association participants are more involved civically than the non-members. Further research might fruitfully be addressed to such questions as the following: (1) to what extent does the citizen's interest in public affairs lead him to join voluntary associations; (2) to what extent do the voluntary associations contribute to their members' interest in public affairs; (3) to what extent is membership in one or more voluntary associations functional for the citizen who has a great deal of interest in public affairs. Questions of this order, however, fall beyond the scope of this secondary analysis.¹⁶

SUMMARY

A secondary analysis of two national and several local surveys provides evidence on

¹⁵ For a discussion of the differential demands of descriptive vs. explanatory analysis see Herbert Hyman, *Survey Design and Analysis: Principles, Cases and Procedures*, Glencoe: The Free Press, 1955, especially pp. 121-124.

¹⁶ For examples of earlier theoretical and empirical work on the functions of voluntary association membership, see Rose, *op. cit.*; and Bernard Barber, "Participation and Mass Apathy in Associations," in Alvin Gouldner (ed.), *Studies in Leadership: Leadership and Democratic Action*, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950, pp. 477-504.

the topics: the pattern of membership in voluntary associations of Americans in general and of such specific subgroups as class and religion; some possible determinants of membership, for example, socio-economic status; and certain correlates of membership which relate to civic participation, for example, interest in public issues and voting.

The major findings are listed below in abbreviated form. In each case, the major source of data, that is, national or local survey, is indicated in parentheses. Subject to the qualifications noted above, the major findings are:

- (1) Voluntary association membership is not characteristic of the majority of Americans (National).
- (2) A relatively small percentage of Americans belong to two or more voluntary associations (National).
- (3) Membership is more characteristic of the white than Negro population (National).
- (4) Membership is more characteristic of Jewish than Protestant persons, and of Protestant than Catholics (National).

(5) Membership is directly related to socio-economic status, as measured by level of income, occupation, home ownership, interviewer's rating of level of living, and education (National).

(6) Membership is more characteristic of urban and rural non-farm residents than of rural farm residents (National).

(7) Membership does not appear to be related to a variety of situational factors, for example, length of residence in the community, length of residence at the same address, type of dwelling unit, commuting time to work (Denver).

(8) Membership is related to family status, being higher for couples with children than without (Denver).

(9) Membership is accompanied by a greater interest in such public affairs as unemployment problems, city planning, and public schools (Denver).

(10) Membership is associated with voting in Presidential, Congressional and local elections (Denver).

(11) Membership is associated with support for local charities (Denver).

MARRIAGE PATTERNS AND EDUCATIONAL LEVEL *

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THIS paper treats differences in marriage patterns of persons in the United States according to their educational level. The marriage patterns discussed include trends in the number of marriages, age at marriage, stability of marriage, resident and nonresident marriages, number of times married, broken marriages, and bachelorhood and spinsterhood.

Some of the source material comes from decennial censuses but most of it is from a special study of about 9,000 persons who married between 1947 and 1954. This study was sponsored by the National Office of

Vital Statistics, and the data were collected in the Census Bureau's Current Population Survey for June 1954. The latter, one of the regular monthly surveys in which employment and other demographic data are collected, covered a sample of more than 20,000 households which were representative of the civilian noninstitutional population of the United States.¹ The sample was spread over

* Paper read at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Society, August, 1957. The views presented are those of the authors and not necessarily those of the agencies with which they are associated.

¹ Hugh Carter, Sarah Lewitt, and William F. Pratt, "Socioeconomic Characteristics of Persons Who Married Between January 1947 and June 1954: United States," *Vital Statistics—Special Reports*, Vol. 45, No. 12. The decennial census data shown here were derived mainly from 1950 *Census of Population*, Vol. IV, *Special Reports*, Part 2, Chapter E, Duration of Current Marital Status, and Part 5, Chapter B, Education; and 1940 *Census of Population*, Educational Attainment by Economic Characteristics and Marital Status.

230 sample areas comprising 453 counties and independent cities. The weighted sample results were adjusted to independent estimates of the population by age, sex, and color.

The results presented here are interpreted as indications, in part, of differences in the marriage behavior of persons in the various economic strata. This is a reasonable position because of the close positive relationship between degree of education and amount of income, especially among men. Educational achievement, however, is undoubtedly associated with many other attributes besides economic status. Thus, without at least a moderately high degree of intelligence, habits of persistence toward desired objectives, and a fairly stable personality structure, a person would find it difficult, as a rule, to advance into the upper levels of the educational system. Without such social characteristics as parental encouragement and high values attached to educational achievement, many otherwise capable persons would not have climbed as far as they did up the educational ladder.

In like manner, of course, marriage behavior is a product of numerous factors besides economic status. Many of the same personal and social factors, which are correlated with educational success, in fact, undoubtedly are strategic in determining whether persons marry or not as well as the stability of their union. It may be helpful, therefore, in considering the results which follow, to think of both marriage patterns and educational levels as joint products of the personal and social backgrounds of the persons involved.

Upward Trend in Marriage and in Education. The proportion of the adult population in the United States that was married increased far more between 1940 and the mid-1950s than in any other comparable period for which data are available. There were close to 8 million more married persons in 1957 than there would have been if the proportion married in each age and sex group had remained unchanged between 1940 and 1957. This figure of 8 million married persons is nearly as large as the number of persons who married during the three years 1954, 1955, and 1956.

TABLE 1. PER CENT MARRIED, FOR WHITE PERSONS 20 TO 24 YEARS OF AGE, BY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL: UNITED STATES, 1950 AND 1940

Educational Level	Per Cent Married		
	1950	1940	1950
20 to 24 years old ¹	53.0	38.4	1.38
Elementary { 0 to 4 years	49.9	44.4	1.12
{ 5 to 8 years	59.2	46.2	1.28
High school { 1 to 3 years	64.1	46.6	1.38
{ 4 years	54.2	33.9	1.60
College { 1 to 3 years	32.7	20.4	1.60
{ 4 or more	39.6	19.4	2.04

¹ Total white persons for 1950 and native white persons for 1940.

The upward trend in educational level in the last decade and a half has been equally impressive. By 1957, the number of persons with at least a full high school education was twice as large as it was in 1940. Four-fifths of this increase is attributable to the sharp rise in school enrollment rates at the high school and college levels after the start of World War II. The remainder of the increase was due to such factors as population increase during this period and the pre-war trend toward more education.

There is evidence from decennial census data, shown in Table 1, that the increase during the 1940s in the proportion married among young persons was greater for those with a high school diploma or a college degree than for those with no high school education.² This positive relationship between educational level and increase in marriage is found among both whites and nonwhites and implies that more of the better-educated persons were forming families and that family formation was taking place at a younger age than before. The opportunities for employment of young married women—and especially for those with above-average education—have mounted rapidly since 1940. Thus it has come to be taken for granted

² See also Christopher Tietze and Patience Lauriat, "Age at Marriage and Educational Attainment in the United States," *Population Studies*, IX, (November, 1955); and John Hajnal, "Analysis of Changes in the Marriage Pattern by Economic Groups," *American Sociological Review*, 19 (June, 1954).

TABLE 2. MEDIAN AGE AT FIRST MARRIAGE, FOR HUSBANDS AND WIVES WHO ENTERED FIRST MARRIAGES BETWEEN 1947 AND 1954, BY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL: UNITED STATES

Educational Level	Median Age at First Marriage	
	Husbands	Wives
Married in 1947 to 1954	24.2	20.8
Elementary	0 to 7 years	24.7
	8 years	24.9
High school	1 to 3 years	22.8
	4 years	24.0
College	1 to 3 years	24.7
	4 or more	26.0

that most women who have completed a high school or college education need no longer choose between a career and marriage.

In the fall of 1956, one of every four college students was married. Among the most typical college ages, 18 to 24, about one of every six in colleges was married. Although no comparable figures are available for an earlier date, these proportions are probably far in excess of those before World War II and may even be above those for the early postwar period when many married men were attending college on benefits derived from the G. I. Bill. Even though the proportion of college students who are married may seem high, the fact remains that, age for age, the proportion married among those not in school is considerably higher.

Age at Marriage. The relationship between median age at first marriage and educational level tends to be positive but is more appropriately described as a U-shaped curvilinear relationship. Thus college graduates are the oldest, on the average, at first marriage and persons who left high school before graduation are the youngest at marriage. Those who left college before graduation are only slightly older at marriage than high school graduates who did not go on to college.

The older age of college graduates at marriage is readily understandable in view of the fact that college students are generally not self-supporting and hence must rely upon their parents for their financial support. Probably most parents still do not look kindly upon giving help to a married son or daughter who is attending school. Although

the median age at marriage of persons with an incomplete high school education is relatively young, it is still old enough to indicate that a large proportion of the persons who discontinue their high school education engage in work for a while before marriage.

In general, the interval between leaving school and marriage tends to diminish as the amount of schooling increases, for those with nine or more years of school. The relatively short interval for those who do not complete college suggests that a substantial proportion quit college in order to marry.

The difference between the ages of spouses tends to decrease as the amount of education increases. Thus the difference between the median ages of spouses drops from four or five years for persons with no high school training to about two years for college graduates.

The median age at remarriage is especially high for persons with no high school education. This finding is consistent with the fact that the median ages at widowhood and divorce are also relatively high for persons with no high school education. At least a partial explanation for these findings is that persons with little education tend to be concentrated among those toward the upper limit of marriageable age; such persons went to school long ago when low levels of educational attainment were quite common. Moreover, persons in the lower economic groups probably tend to postpone obtaining a divorce because of the cost factor and hence to become eligible for remarriage at an older age.

TABLE 3. MEDIAN YEARS OF SCHOOL COMPLETED, FOR HUSBANDS AND WIVES WHO ENTERED FIRST MARRIAGES BETWEEN 1947 AND 1954, BY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF SPOUSE: UNITED STATES

Educational Level of Spouse	Median Years of School Completed	
	Husbands	Wives
First marriage	12.1	12.2
Elementary	0 to 7 years	6.5
	8 years	8.8
High school	1 to 3 years	10.7
	4 years	12.4
College	1 to 3 years	13.9
	4 or more	16.4

TABLE 4. PER CENT DISTRIBUTION BY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL, FOR MEN WHO ENTERED FIRST MARRIAGES AND REMARRIAGES BETWEEN 1947 AND 1954, BY AGE AT TIME OF MOST RECENT MARRIAGE: UNITED STATES

Age at Time of Most Recent Marriage	Total	Elementary School	High School	College
14 to 24 years:				
First marriage	100.0	20.6	62.1	17.3
Remarriage	100.0	31.7	62.6	5.7
25 to 29 years:				
First marriage	100.0	21.7	48.3	30.0
Remarriage	100.0	27.9	56.6	15.5
30 to 34 years:				
First marriage	100.0	28.2	49.4	22.4
Remarriage	100.0	29.9	52.8	17.3
35 years and over:				
First marriage	100.0	38.2	44.8	17.1
Remarriage	100.0	47.4	38.3	14.3

Education of Husband and Wife. The data reveal a general tendency for the education of the husband and wife to be of a similar level. Among persons with recent first marriages, in fact, the median years of school completed for all husbands and all wives are virtually the same. The education of husbands who had not completed high school, however, tends to be less than that of their wives. On the other hand, the education of husbands who had attended college somewhat exceeds that of their wives. These findings are related to the fact that a larger proportion of women than men complete high school, but a larger proportion of men than women who do complete high school go on to college: as a consequence there is an unequal supply of men and women with a given amount of education.

Men who were recently entering remarriages had about one year less of schooling than their wives and about two years less education than men recently entering first marriages. The men who were remarrying were about 40 years of age and 6 years older than their wives, on the average. The men who were marrying for the first time were about 23 years of age and 3 years older than their wives, on the average.

Stability of Marriage. Higher educational attainment is correlated with greater marriage stability. Table 4 shows the percentage distribution of first marriages and remarriages of men by age and educational attainment. In each of the four age groups a higher proportion of those still in their first

marriages than of those in remarriages falls in the group with one or more years of college training, and a smaller proportion in the group with schooling limited to the elementary level.³

The survey figures—especially those cited in the discussion of Table 4—are subject to certain limitations. The sample survey results relate to the last (most recent) marriage during the preceding seven and one-half years and hence do not cover the first marriages of persons with both first marriages and remarriages within the study period; however, probably only about five per cent are thus affected. In addition, the men with a college education tended to marry at an older age and hence were exposed for a shorter period than others to the risk of having a broken marriage by a certain age; the effects of this factor are minimized, however, by showing the data for several age groups. These limitations are relatively minor. The authors believe they are justified, therefore, in their view that there is a positive relationship between educational level and marriage stability.

Resident and Nonresident Marriages. Persons who marry are described here as "resi-

³ Age-standardized marriage and dissolution rates computed from 1950 Census data provide evidence that, on the average, the most stable unions are those of women who complete college and the least stable are those of women who drop out of high school before graduation. See Tables 87 and 102 in the Census Monograph by Paul C. Glick, *American Families*, New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1957.

TABLE 5. PER CENT DISTRIBUTION BY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF HUSBAND, FOR MARRIED COUPLES WHO ENTERED MARRIAGES BETWEEN 1947 AND 1954, BY NUMBER OF TIMES MARRIED FOR THE HUSBAND AND RESIDENCE STATUS OF HUSBAND AND WIFE: UNITED STATES

Educational Level of Husband		First Marriage of Husband		Remarriage of Husband	
		Resident Husband and Wife	Nonresident Husband and Wife	Resident Husband and Wife	Nonresident Husband and Wife
Married in 1947 to 1954		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Elementary	{ 0 to 7 years	9.0	14.7	22.1	21.6
	{ 8 years	11.6	16.8	19.4	17.6
High school	{ 1 to 3 years	23.8	28.6	21.4	29.7
	{ 4 years	34.0	30.8	23.0	16.6
College	{ 1 to 3 years	10.4	5.2	7.1	11.5
	{ 4 or more	11.2	3.9	7.0	3.0

dent" brides or grooms if the marriage took place in the same State as their State of residence. Among recent marriages, close to 80 per cent of the first marriages were contracted by a resident bride and a resident groom, whereas close to 70 per cent of the remarriages were contracted by a resident bride and a resident groom. The corresponding proportions of resident marriages were somewhat higher in the Northeastern States and considerably lower in the West.

Among couples with nonresident first marriages—that is, both the bride and groom were residents of a different State from the one in which they married—the husband tended to be younger and to have less education than the average. Moreover, in nonresident first marriages, a relatively large proportion of the husbands had not completed high school, whereas in resident first marriages, a relatively large proportion of the husbands had graduated from high school or college.

These facts may be interpreted in the light of the probability that resident marriages are likely to be deliberate and formal in nature, whereas nonresident marriages are more hasty and informal.

Employment of Recently Married Women.

Among recently married women who are still in their teens, those who are in the labor force have about one more year of education than those not in the labor force. The same tendency is also found among recently remarried women. The better-educated women probably continue to work longer after marriage and to postpone

childbearing longer than women with less education. In general, labor force participation after marriage increases as age at marriage increases. Employed women in their early twenties have about 12 years of school, on the average, and are working mainly at clerical, sales, and professional or technical jobs, though substantial numbers are found in semi-skilled (usually factory) and service work.

Number of Times Married. A strong negative relationship exists between the frequency of marriage and the amount of education, among recently married persons not classified by age. More than a fourth of the recently married persons with no high school education had been married twice or more, whereas only a tenth of the college graduates had been remarried. Again, about five per cent of those with no high school training, as compared with only one per cent of the college graduates, had married for the third or subsequent time.

To some extent these results reflect the fact, pointed out above, that persons with small amounts of schooling are older, on the average, and show relatively high widowhood rates. In turn, the high widowhood rates of the poorly educated no doubt reflect high mortality rates among persons of low economic status.

Broken Marriages. Among both men and women with broken marriages who are still in the age range when most remarriages occur, divorced persons have more education and income, on the average, than widowed and separated persons. This finding is

consistent with the popular saying that "separation is the poor man's divorce." The relatively low average status of widowed persons is further confirmation of the higher mortality rates among persons in lower economic groups.

To some extent, these results probably come about by the selective process of divorce and remarriage: many separated persons of lower economic status tend to remain separated and those of higher economic status are more likely to end the marriage in divorce. In turn, remarriage rates are the lowest among divorced and widowed per-

sons with high average education and income of spinsters undoubtedly reflect the tendency for many well-educated single women to devote their time to their chosen occupations in the business or professional world, while those who marry are likely to be preoccupied with the care of young children.

Conclusions. The high level of marriage rates and the decline in divorce rates after World War II are doubtless caused by a great variety of factors, many of which are imperfectly understood. For one thing, they are probably related to the prosperity of the current era. Favorable economic condi-

TABLE 6. MEDIAN YEARS OF SCHOOL COMPLETED, FOR PERSONS 35 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE, BY MARITAL STATUS, COLOR, AND SEX: UNITED STATES, 1950

Marital Status	Median Years of School Completed			
	White Men	Nonwhite Men	White Women	Nonwhite Women
35 to 44 years of age	10.4	6.8	11.0	7.5
Single	9.7	6.8	12.3	7.7
Married, spouse present	10.6	6.8	10.9	7.5
Separated	8.9	6.7	9.1	7.4
Other married	10.0	7.2	10.6	7.5
Widowed	8.8	6.3	10.0	6.9
Divorced	10.0	8.2	11.3	8.6

sons with little education and income. Hence there is evidently a cumulative tendency for the ranks of the separated and widowed to be enlarged by persons in the lower strata and to be diminished by those in the upper strata.

Bachelor and Spinsterhood. Men who marry and continue to live with their wives have more education and income, on the average, than men with broken marriages or men who remain bachelors. On the other hand, women who remain spinsters have more education and income, on the average, than women who marry. There are several possible explanations of these findings. Among them is the hypothesis that the characteristics of men that promote success in educational and economic advancement also tend to promote success in securing wives and in remaining married. Men with wives and children to support have a greater inducement, furthermore, to earn a substantial income than do unmarried men. The

conditions must have engendered in young people a sense of job security and optimism about the future. These conditions have evidently fostered favorable attitudes toward relatively early marriages. Moreover, the housing supply has improved, the rate of home ownership has increased, and the secular trend in the birth rate has been upward. Having a secure job, owning a home, and having young children have probably operated as active stabilizers of family life for an increasing proportion of adults who are in the childrearing age group.

Similarly, the recent spurt in educational attainment is due to many factors, also imperfectly understood. Among other things, it reflects the favorable economic climate and the steady rise in opportunities for persons to put into practical use the skills they have learned in the classroom.

Differences among social groups in both marriage and educational patterns persist despite the level of prevailing economic con-

ditions. These differences stem from dissimilarities in cultural and personal characteristics. Within a given economic setting, not all groups have equal opportunities to marry or to obtain an education, and not all groups attach the same values to marriage and to educational achievement. Men in the middle and upper economic strata tend to have not only a high amount of education but also a high marriage rate, an above-average age at marriage, and a low divorce rate. These facts suggest that circumstances which encourage persons to continue successfully through high school or college and to postpone marriage past teen age also discourage them from dissolving their marriages by divorce.

Persons who discontinue their education before they complete high school tend also to have low incomes and high rates of marriage dissolution by separation, divorce, or widowhood. In addition, they have more

than the average number of children. Thus persons in the lower educational strata face the cumulative effect of higher birth rates and lower incomes—plus such associated conditions as poorer health, need for larger living quarters, and smaller likelihood of assistance from the older generation. These conditions place a heavy strain on the family relations of that segment of the population which has the poorest educational background.

Finally, it should be pointed out that much of the source material for this analysis came from sample data which are subject to certain limitations, as indicated in the official reports cited above. It is believed, however, that these data constitute an adequate foundation for the conclusions presented. The writers hope that additional studies will be made in order to confirm or revise the inferences drawn here.

THE PROFESSION: REPORTS AND OPINION

LEGAL CERTIFICATION OF PSYCHOLOGY AS VIEWED BY SOCIOLOGISTS*

THE COMMITTEE ON THE IMPLICATIONS OF
CERTIFICATION LEGISLATION, AMERICAN
SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY†

Sociologists are aware of the very real problems that have led psychologists to turn for a solution to certification through state legislative action. We are profoundly sympathetic. And we appreciate the sincere efforts of psychologists to identify and to emulate the principles of a "good profession." Nevertheless as sociologists we observe the movement toward certification by the state with growing concern. Our primary concern has to do with the impingement of state certification on social psychology as a branch of sociology. Perhaps it is unnecessary to point out that, on historical grounds as well as on the basis of past and contemporary contributions, sociologists believe their claim on social psychology to be as sound and as legitimate as that made by psychologists. Our freedom to continue work in that area, it seems to us, is placed in serious jeopardy by the legislative enactments psychologists are sponsoring in the various states.

The legislative acts that seek certification of the use of the undefined word "psychology" specify that the programs shall be administered and supervised by psychologists, the latter term being rigorously defined in those bills. This means that members of one profession, psychology, will judge the qualifications and thereby regulate the opportunities of members of a different profession, sociology. The effect is only somewhat moderated under the most favorable circumstances suggested to date, that is, as represented in the proposed Michigan bill. The latter provides that the certification board, composed of psychologists, may designate an examining committee for each marginal field, e.g., social psychology, one-half the mem-

bers of which may be representatives of the related profession. To appreciate the sociologist's attitude the psychologist need only imagine his response to a proposal that all forms of psychotherapy, personality diagnosis and mental testing be declared adjuncts of psychiatry and be certified under the discretionary administration of psychiatrists.

Beyond the immediate invasion of sociological prerogatives, certification carries a diffuse and cumulative threat. The establishment of "psychology" as a legally sanctioned term may lead private and public organizations (including civil service commissions) to adopt as their own the requirement of the state boards of examiners in psychology. Thus, positions currently open to both psychologically and sociologically trained social psychologists would become inaccessible to the latter. Or, stated differently, an important segment of the sociological profession ultimately would be viewed by the public as incompetent to practice its traditional craft except within the walls of academic institutions and possibly not even there.

As members of the academic community we look with dismay upon the legal certification of any term that denotes what is essentially an intellectual enterprise. A field of knowledge and discovery may be hedged about and limited to the few only at grave risk to the progress of that discipline. Should such a risk be incurred in order to secure the protection of certain specific applications of the contributions of the discipline, contributions that have resulted from free and unrestricted inquiry? We believe that certification of the inclusive term psychology will not in the long run serve the public interest. When it begins by preempting a segment of a related profession's domain the future does not seem promising. It appears to us that psychologists are unwittingly violating the spirit of one of their own principles of a "good profession." Principle 6 states: "As an autonomous profession, psychology cannot accept limitations upon the freedom of thought and action of its members other than limitations imposed by its social responsibility and by considerations of public welfare." (*Psychology and Its Relations with Other Professions*. The American Psychological Association, 1954, p. 13.)

* This statement was prepared for publication in *The American Psychologist*, but should be of interest to readers of this journal as well. The Editor.

† Edgar Borgatta, Philip Hauser, Alex Inkeles, Saul Mendlovitz, Gideon Sjoberg, Guy E. Swanson, Ralph Turner, and Amos H. Hawley, Chairman.

THE CERTIFICATION OF ACADEMIC PROFESSIONS: THE CASE OF PSYCHOLOGY*

EDGAR F. BORGATTA
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The recent trend toward licensing or certification for psychologists has led to widespread examination of the appropriateness of this kind of action. Many of the reactions have been directly to the certification of psychologists, but a more considered response has been to the notion of certifying professional fields generally, with psychology as the available example.¹ Here some of the issues involved are examined.

CERTIFICATION OF ACADEMIC PROFESSIONS

The certification of psychologists has been particularly difficult to analyze objectively because the identification of what a psychologist is or is supposed to be is not clear. The greatest confusion arises in connection with the distinction between academic professions and practicing professions, which has not been kept clear in the historical development of psychology.

We think of the academic professions as concerned with the development and dissemination of knowledge. In general, one derives his rights in an academic profession by satisfying the requirements for an advanced degree, such as the Ph.D., or by independently doing research or other work of a character that indicates the person has satisfied an equivalent to such requirements. Persons who are members of the academic professions not only disseminate knowledge through colleges and universities, but also through publications and other means. As experts, they are frequently called upon to serve as consultants where their knowledge or experience is considered relevant. Qualification to be a consultant has been based upon recognition by the profession and community rather than validation of some legal requirements. In the tradition of the academic professions there is nothing to be found supporting certification of title or function, and any move toward certification of normal academic privileges must be interpreted as a restriction of academic freedom.

* Prepared for the annual meeting of the Eastern Sociological Society, April, 1958.

¹ It should be noted that this discussion is based on the relationship of the relevant practicing and academic professions. Substantive issues in counseling and psychotherapy, such as the fact that little or no evidence of effectiveness of procedures is as yet demonstrated, will not be considered in the discussion.

PSYCHOLOGY AS AN ACADEMIC AND A PRACTICING PROFESSION

While psychology has a tradition as an academic profession, well respected in the history of academic institutions, over a period of time there have grown from it several fields of practice. These have been associated with such descriptive adjectives as "clinical," "counseling," and "industrial." The development of these applied fields underlies the issue of certifying and licensing psychology, but the field primarily involved is that of clinical psychology. However it came about (clearly, clinical psychologists and psychiatrists have some common interests), clinical psychology became identified as a practicing profession rather than as an area of research. Certainly the relative ignorance of the general public of the fine distinction between being a clinical psychologist and a psychiatrist may have helped both to create and propagate the confusion. One possible consequence is the fear of clinical psychologists that their activities might be hampered by the psychiatric profession in various psychotherapeutic and counseling procedures. On this point, the reaction of psychologists, and not clinical psychologists alone, seems to have been that the problems dealt with were psychological and not medical in nature and, in any event, psychologists have far more *formal* training in psychology than psychiatrists. It seems fair to state that the move toward certification and licensing is a defensive reaction to the psychiatric profession, at least in part. But in making this point it should be conceded that clinical psychologists were asserting their right to administer to mental as distinguished from medical patients.

A concomitant of the emergence of clinical psychology, as in any applied field, has been the growth of a large number of fads and the possibility of charlatanism in the handling of psychotherapeutic procedures. One reaction of psychologists has been a condemnation of persons calling themselves "psychologists" and thus listing themselves in telephone directories when they have not been qualified according to the generally accepted standard of the psychologists' professional organizations. This serves as another rationale for certification: to restrict the title in such a way that charlatans do not have access to it.

The reaction of the American Psychological Association to these trends, it should be noted, involved various forms of indignation over any attempt to hamper the activities of psychologists and over the misuse of the word "psychologist." But there was no call to arms for certification. The pressure for certification and

licensing came primarily from state organizations, more or less imposed over the policy of the central organization. In fact, state legislation was vigorously pushed while the parent psychological organization was under a "truce agreement" with the psychiatric organization. At this point the truce seems to be forgotten and apparently needless since the state organizations have demonstrated that it is possible to have certification passed without the cooperation of the medical profession.

THE MEANING OF CERTIFICATION

What are the possible consequences of legislation on certification? In the report of the Committee on Implications of Legislation that Licenses or Certifies Psychologists, published in the *American Sociological Review* (21 [December, 1956] pp. 773-776), a classification of such legislation is presented:

1. *Voluntary legislation* is the restriction of a particular title to persons who have met certain standards of training and experience set by an examining board.
2. *Nonrestrictive legislation* is associated with the general definition of a class of services identified by title and/or function, and implicitly recognizes that professions other than psychology have contributions to make in the same area of services to the public.
3. *Restrictive legislation* is defined as specifying the functions, presumably in detail, that constitute practicing psychology, no matter what a person calls himself.

Voluntary certification designates persons who have satisfied a given standard and who may be distinguished from others offering the same services or services toward the same end. It does not prohibit other persons, however, from carrying out these services. The utilization of the voluntary title presumably requires education of the public. It does not need to depend upon the law, and the American Psychological Association has already made important strides toward the development of this kind of certification for certain applied fields. Voluntary certification may be desirable for a field of established practice as a minimum protection for the public.

The resistance of psychologists to voluntary certification appears to have been closely associated with a notion of protecting the public from charlatans, presumably on the assumption that the public cannot be educated and must be protected against itself by the type of censorship that is implicit in restrictive legislation, which by definition is repressive. For example, voluntary certification requiring a test

of competence for the use of the title "Certified Clinical Psychologist" does not prohibit a psychotherapist or a charlatan from using the title "psychologist," nor does the restriction of the title "psychologist" prevent the psychotherapist or the charlatan from continuing his activities under another title such as "psychotherapist," "counselor," or "personality consultant."

But note, however, that if the objective is to inhibit the practice of these individuals rather than to protect the public by making competent psychological services available under a known title, the objective is highly questionable. To imply that the objective is to inhibit others even if they do not utilize the title "psychologist" means that this is presumed to be an area of singular competence for psychology.

What of the definitions associated with restrictive and nonrestrictive legislation? Restrictive legislation in many ways makes more sense than nonrestrictive legislation. If there are areas of competence to be taught and learned in some professional school of practice, then legislation corresponding to the professional school seems reasonable, at least at first glance. Physicians, dentists, lawyers, veterinarians, optometrists, and chiropractors are commonly certified. In none of these cases, however, does the name involved refer to a scientific discipline.

But if restrictive legislation is put into effect, then the practicing profession of psychology needs to establish in clear terms what techniques and skills are to be restricted. The unique skills of the person trained in psychology may become quite difficult to define when they are to be differentiated from the adjacent professions. Note, for example, the threat of preemption to such adjacent fields of practice as educational counseling, personnel counseling, management counseling, human relations work, and social work in the following paragraph of the Tennessee bill:

A person practices as a "Psychological Examiner" within the meaning of this Act when he holds himself to be a Psychological Examiner and/or renders to individuals or to the public for remuneration any service involving the application of recognized principles, methods and procedures of the science and profession of psychology, such as interviewing or administering and interpreting tests of mental abilities, aptitudes, interests and personality characteristics, for such purposes as psychological evaluation or for educational or vocational selection, guidance or placement.

Most of the functions specified in this definition of psychological examiner also constitute the

traditional research procedures of many other services and academic disciplines.

This is not the only issue, however, that becomes involved in defining such practices. Hopefully, psychology and related scientific disciplines are hard at work in developing objective tests of mental abilities, aptitudes, interests and personality characteristics. As this occurs, they should become more detached from the individual administrator, and similarly interpretation should become more routine. It seems ridiculous that something that is governed by an objective of routinization should be restricted, especially when the hope is that the general educational level is being raised so that more and more persons will possess these kinds of skills. In the area of mental tests, for example, it is possible to devise a self-administering test that is not only self-scoring but for which a standard interpretation is available.

The point is not to quarrel with the area of practice related to the scientific discipline of psychology, but to suggest that this field of practice has yet to be specified or defined. If such a definition is developed in the future, at that point the practicing field should be detached from graduate schools which are concerned with the growth of the academic disciplines. In training practitioners, it is wasteful to prepare students for research as well, since as practitioners they ordinarily will be unable to carry out research. On the other hand, if psychology is to be certified as a field of practice, then departments in graduate schools of arts and sciences that are preparing persons for research should find it below their dignity to continue pouring resources into training persons for applied and often routine procedures rather than concentrating their efforts on the development of knowledge. On this score, it is difficult to understand why the scientific branch of psychology did not more strongly resist or resent a move to certification that threatens to level all members to the status of technicians.

In the defense of the psychologists who define their role primarily as scientists, however, firm opposition probably did not develop because the psychiatric-psychological controversy placed their discipline in a position of underdog, and also because they believed that the activities of the practicing part of their profession did not necessarily affect them. Being above the politics involved may have been the appropriate reaction of these scientists if the proposed legislative action had not reched points of excess. If, for example, the recommended laws had been of a voluntary nature, there would have been no need for psychologists and other scientists to be concerned with certification.

CONSEQUENCES FOR PSYCHOLOGY

The New York law reads as follows in its definition of a psychologist:

A person represents himself to be a "psychologist" when he holds himself out to the public by any title or description of services incorporating the words "psychological," "psychologist," or "psychology," and under such title or description offers to render or renders services to individuals, corporations, or the public for remuneration.

There are exclusions, and use of the name is permitted as an official title in government agencies and educational institutions. Taking the law literally, no psychologist may represent himself as such in any venture for which there is remuneration, such as publishing a book, acting as a consultant, etc., without being certified. He would not be allowed to lecture to any but an educational institution audience for remuneration. Thus, quite paradoxically, the psychologist who may never have had any contact with human subjects may find that he cannot consult with an industrial organization about his limited subject matter unless he has been certified. On the other hand, this same psychologist may find that when he is certified he has the privilege of carrying out for a fee all those activities that are vaguely included under the title of psychology. An assertion that the "profession" would govern this as a violation of ethics is nonsense, for it begs the question of why this psychologist should be certified at all.²

CONSEQUENCES FOR SOCIOLOGY

The first and most direct restriction that occurs through certification is in usurping the title of psychology as being primary to all other titles. Social psychologists have been trained both in sociology and in psychology departments, and competence as a social psychologist has been determined within the realm of each discipline. It is, of course, well known that the first two texts in "social psychology" were written by William A. MacDougall, the psychologist, and Edward A. Ross, the sociologist. Thus some sociologists have a claim to the name "psychologist," as well as representatives of other disciplines. Was Freud a psychologist?

Conceivably, the proponents of non-voluntary certification could argue that only a small proportion of sociologists will be affected. Here, of

² The protection of the public continues to reside in redress through the courts even when a code of ethics is operative. There is no evidence that in matters of individual damages a code of ethics provides any protection that does not already exist in the law.

course, an important principle is at issue. In a literal interpretation of a law such as that of New York, social psychologists would not be able to represent themselves as such for consultation where their services might be relevant. Moreover, the development of sociology is undoubtedly leading to an increased proportion of sociologists working outside of educational institutions; such laws will therefore restrict relevant activities of an applied nature.

Furthermore, sociologists who function as either full-time or part-time social psychologists outside of educational institutions do not necessarily represent themselves as being competent in areas claimed as the special province of psychology. Traditionally, the content of sociology (and not psychology) has included studies of social interaction, interpersonal relations, marriage and the family, role theory, socialization, social perception, small group analysis, opinion and attitude research, media and mass communication, collective behavior, industrial relations, and intergroup relations—to name a few areas. Sociologists surely may possess these traditional social psychological skills—without the implication that they are experts in areas of psychology such as projective tests, psychophysics, and physiological psychology.

If the availability of a license or certificate is desirable, and since it presumably allows one special privileges this would seem to be the case, such privileges will serve, it may be anticipated, as an additional incentive in training. This may have interesting ramifications in terms of the avenues of training. In so far as social psychology as a title continues to carry its present prestige among behavioral scientists, students planning a career in social psychology would seek degrees in departments of psychology rather than sociology, since they would face the possibility (as they do now) of working in other than university or government positions. The probable consequences for departments within universities are clear and, again, involve preemption of certain areas of knowledge, including peripheral areas, by psychology.

A suggestion that procedures may be set into effect to allow certification of the peripheral scientific disciplines when they are relevant to psychology is itself a peculiar one. First, it assumes that there is a need to certify such peripheral areas as educational psychology, social psychology, and personnel psychology. Second, permitting peripheral areas to be certified, satisfying special requirements of course, threatens to establish a second class type of scholarly citizenship.

CONSEQUENCES FOR OTHER RELATED PRACTICING PROFESSIONS

There are two kinds of peripheral professions, however, academic and practicing. The latter, particularly associated with schools of education, business and public administration, social work, and nursing, should feel the greatest infringement. It is difficult to imagine a description of services provided by persons trained in these and other professional schools of practice that does not involve some reference to "psychological skills"—unless, of course, a new definition of this inclusive term develops. On the other hand, these practicing professions may question the motives of the certification of psychologists, since, on the one hand, the laws are written on the basis of academic requirements in traditional subjects in psychology rather than courses in the development of technical skills, but, on the other, the activities of the practicing psychological profession are described as such skills as administration of tests, counseling, and psychotherapy. Note, in this connection, the report in *The New York State Psychologist* of October, 1957 (Volume 9, 6, p. 4):

... slightly over three-quarters of clinical psychologists in the top and middle salary group are reported to do counseling or psychotherapy for some portion of their time and almost two-thirds of the bottom group also do so.

It is true that the practicing professions concerned with counseling and psychotherapy emphasize more training in these skills than that required for a Ph.D. in psychology. If these professions feel threatened they may move in the direction of certification themselves—where they have not already done so. Considering the status of the field of practice, this move is of questionable merit, as is the haphazard proliferation of certification in any area in which the ordinary citizen shares and has access to the skills of the profession. Among other possibilities, persons involved in these practicing professions may lose sight of the fact that they are in business to get out of business. Presumably, as science and education progress, the lay citizen will have greater access to the knowledge of the practitioner. Thus emphasis on certification in a practicing profession where the skills are not specifically defined and where relevant knowledge can become part of the public domain indicates a concern with professional identity in the sense of a vested interest rather than a public interest.

SUMMARY

Certification of an academic profession is contrary to the tradition of academic freedom.

One of the rights of the scientist is to be available on the basis of his expertness for consultation wherever his skills are relevant. Thus, if the name "psychology" is to be associated with a scientific discipline, the certification of the field of "psychology" (the whole field) is incompatible with academic freedom and scientific values.

Voluntary certification may be desirable for special areas of competence where the issues of public protection are well defined. Certification of the whole field is not reasonable when it is directed only to certain skills. Voluntary certification of titles such as "certified clinical psychologist" or "certified industrial psychologist" may be desirable.

Restrictive certification is reasonable only if it can be demonstrated that certain areas of competence are uniquely defined by the profession, such as testing with certain classes of individual instruments. Restrictive legislation directed to control such activities as counseling and psychotherapy, which involve several practicing professions, is unreasonable.

Nonrestrictive legislation, based on the principle of preemption, leads to the same consequences as restrictive legislation.

Legislation directed toward certification appears to create special privileges for a group rather than to serve the avowed purpose of protecting the public, except in the case of voluntary certification or a clear-cut and justifiable restrictive certification.

THE NEED FOR NATIONWIDE MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE STATISTICS

THE COMMITTEE ON MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE STATISTICS *

One of the recommendations made by last year's (1955-56) Committee on Marriage and Divorce Statistics, and subsequently approved by the Publications Committee, was that an article be prepared for the *Review* "setting forth the issues involved in the establishment of a Marriage Registration and a Divorce Registration Area, and the sociological benefits to be derived from nationwide marriage and divorce statistics." Following the recommendation, the 1956-57 Committee gathered the requested information and presents it herewith. It is hoped

* Harold Christensen, G. F. Edwards, Reuben Hill, Clifford Kirkpatrick, Thomas P. Monahan, P. K. Whelpton, and William M. Kephart, Chairman. (Thomas Monahan is planning to submit a critical commentary on this article to the *American Sociological Review* for possible publication.)

that this presentation will not only contribute to a better understanding of the status of vital statistics, but will also enable sociologists to assess their own role in the development of nationwide marriage and divorce registration.

BACKGROUND

The first federal report on marriages and divorces, based on original county records, was published in 1889, and covered the years 1867-1886.¹ In addition to numerical totals of marriages and divorces this initial report contained a few detailed statistics, such as legal causes of divorce, divorce by duration of marriage, by individual states, and the like. Reports were also issued for the period 1887-1906, for the year 1916, and for each year from 1922 to 1932.²

In 1946 the Vital Statistics Division was transferred from the Bureau of the Census to the Public Health Service where, under the new designation, National Office of Vital Statistics (NOVS), the collection and publication of marriage and divorce statistics have continued. Regular NOVS publications include monthly marriage license totals for major cities or counties, as well as state and national totals; and for states that have been able to furnish pre-tabulated data, NOVS publishes some detailed marriage and divorce statistics.

In addition to the foregoing, data have also been collected which help to fill in the gaps for the missing periods, so that from the long-term view, national marriage and divorce totals, or estimates, are available for each year since 1867.³ These figures make it possible to compute crude marriage and divorce rates (per thousand population) on a trend basis. Detailed statistical information that has been collected since 1932, however, is fragmentary and relates only to certain states. Earlier data, while more complete, fall far short of sociological needs.

DIFFICULTIES INVOLVED

The reasons for our lagging marriage and divorce statistics program are not hard to find; indeed, the program might be likened to a long-time obstacle course. At the very outset, registration and collection of vital statistics information was not made an integral part of the

¹ United States Commissioner of Labor (Carroll D. Wright), *A Report on Marriage and Divorce in the United States, 1867 to 1886*, 1,074 pp., 1889.

² See Samuel C. Newman, "The Development and Status of Vital Statistics on Marriage and Divorce," *American Sociological Review*, 15 (June, 1950), pp. 426-429.

³ *Ibid.*

(federal) governmental framework, as was true, for instance, of the constitution-backed United States census. The latter program, starting with a modest counting of the population, has developed into one of the world's largest and most comprehensive statistical enumerations, whereas complete national birth and death registration did not become a reality until 1933. Centralized collection of marriage and divorce records has been interrupted by two World Wars and a depression, and has been delayed not only by budgetary considerations but by difficulties inherent in the separate-state registration systems as based on 48 different sets of laws. It is paradoxical that the Constitution, which authorized the now highly successful census program, was also the instrument which, by delegating marriage and divorce authority to the individual states, placed so many procedural impediments in the way of national marriage and divorce registration areas.

Moreover, while marriage and divorce authority is vested in the individual states, the specific act of marriage or divorce is always of *local* initiation, and it is here that many of the chronic difficulties have developed. In the issuance of marriage licenses, for instance, county clerks are sometimes lax or inconsistent in their recording and reporting procedures. Items that are recorded one way in one county may be recorded differently in another. Furthermore, the processing of the marriage record is quite involved, as the following flow chart⁴ indicates:

1. Couple applies to local official for marriage license.
2. After legal requirements (blood test, waiting period) have been fulfilled, local official issues marriage license.
3. Couple takes marriage license to officiant.
4. Officiant performs ceremony and signs marriage certificate.
5. Officiant sends copy of marriage certificate to local official.
6. Local official registers the marriage.
7. Local official sends record-of-marriage to Board of Health's State Office of Vital Statistics.
8. State Office of Vital Statistics indexes and files marriage record.
9. State Office of Vital Statistics tabulates marriage records and forwards tabulations to National Office of Vital Statistics, Washington, D. C.

Errors of omission or commission may occur at almost any of the above nine steps: (a) The couple may never apply for a license, but simply

live as man and wife at common law. (b) After making application and receiving their license, some couples change their mind and do not marry. (c) It sometimes happens that officiating clergymen fail to send the signed marriage certificate back to the local official. (d) Copies of the marriage record occasionally become "lost" at the county level. (e) A number of states do not have centralized collection of marriage records; hence these records generally remain at the county level. (f) Even with centralized registration, some states do not forward statistical breakdowns to the National Office of Vital Statistics. (g) To make matters more complicated, the marriage certificates used in the various states are by no means uniform concerning the items that are included or the wording of these items.

Uniformity of recording, reporting, and coding, and the standardization of marriage and divorce record forms are procedural matters that can be ironed out with cooperation among local, state, and national offices. Other difficulties, however, inhere in the legal and connotative nature of marriage and divorce—difficulties which are reflected in a variety of statistical compilations and which tend to distort the true picture. For example: How to handle common law marriages? How to make statistical provision for annulments and legal separations? How to record Indian marriages? How to detect and report bigamous unions and second ceremonies? How to take account of desertions and informal separations? How to allocate out-of-state marriages and divorces? Statisticians working in the family field have long been plagued by these and related problems, and it is most unlikely that all of them will be solved in the foreseeable future.

Another difficulty—and certainly one of major proportion—has been pointed out in a comprehensive study of national vital statistics made by the United States National Committee on Vital and Health Statistics. Reporting in July, 1957, the Committee states "that marriage and divorce (including annulment) statistics are in a highly unsatisfactory state as regards geographic coverage, uniformity of reporting, accuracy and amount of detail." After commenting on the need for improvement, the Committee goes on to say "... but it is recognized that it is not possible to carry out such a program under the present budgetary position."⁵

⁴ Adapted from the Working Draft of the *Manual for the Registration of Marriages*, Document No. 390—Rev., May 28, 1956, reproduced by the NOVS, Public Health Service, Washington, D. C.

⁵ *National Vital Statistics Needs*, A Report of the United States National Committee on Vital and Health Statistics, Vital Statistics—Special Reports, Volume 45, No. 11, July 17, 1957, Public Health Service, NOVS.

These procedural, legal, and budgetary issues go a long way toward explaining why, over the years, our marriage and divorce statistics program has lagged. These difficulties do not tell the entire story, however, since obstacles of a similar nature—not quite so difficult, perhaps, but nonetheless formidable—were successfully overcome during the formulation of a national birth and death registration area. Almost any statistical program can be accomplished *if the demand is great enough*, and it is in this sense that the impetus for a national marriage and divorce statistics program has been lacking.

The establishment of birth and death registration areas was fought for, not only by a variety of public officials, but by demographers, and most importantly perhaps, by the medical profession, as the following quotation indicates:

Medical interest in birth, marriage, and death registration in the United States roughly parallels that in England. As early as 1846 the American Medical Association created a special committee to consider ways and means for improving the registration of births, marriages, and deaths. Upon the basis of the findings of this and subsequent committees, the association formally resolved in 1885 that the members of the profession

"be urgently requested to take immediate and concerted action" to establish offices for the collection of vital statistics and further resolved that "a committee of one from each State be appointed to report a uniform system of registration of marriages, births, and deaths."⁶

While the phrase "births, marriages, and deaths" was used, the term "marriages" was more or less an afterthought, and demands for the inauguration of marriage and divorce registration areas were weak, scattered, and relatively few in number.

Nor were sociologists any more vociferous in their demands for an adequate marriage and divorce statistical program—and this is somewhat more difficult to understand. Our own interpretation is that sociologists who were interested in the family were generally not those interested in statistics; and that those interested in statistics did not tend to be drawn toward the family field. Family sociologists were more prone to study patterns of courtship, mate

⁶ *Measures Relating to Vital Records and Vital Statistics*, 78th Congress, House Document No. 242, U. S. Govt. Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1943, p. 41.

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC HEALTH
(State) OF VITAL STATISTICS
(Division) STANDARD RECORD OF MARRIAGE

FORM APPROVED
BUREAU NO. 62-1000
STATE FILE NO.

COUNTY

APPLICATION FOR MARRIAGE LICENSE

1. NAME a. (First) b. (Middle) c. (Last) 2. DATE OF BIRTH (Month) (Day) (Year)

3. USUAL RESIDENCE a. STATE b. COUNTY 4. PLACE OF BIRTH (State or foreign country)

5. CITY OR TOWN (If outside corporate limits write RURAL and give township)

6. PREVIOUS MARITAL STATUS NEVER MARRIED LAST MARRIAGE ENDED BY: DEATH DIVORCE ANNULMENT

7. NUMBER OF PREVIOUS MARRIAGES 8. COLOR OR RACE WHITE NEGRO OTHER (specify) 9. USUAL OCCUPATION 10. KIND OF BUSINESS OR INDUSTRY

BRIDE

11. NAME a. (First) b. (Middle) c. (Last) 12. DATE OF BIRTH (Month) (Day) (Year)

13. MAIDEN NAME IF DIFFERENT

14. USUAL RESIDENCE a. STATE b. COUNTY 15. PLACE OF BIRTH (State or foreign country)

16. CITY OR TOWN (If outside corporate limits write RURAL and give township)

17. PREVIOUS MARITAL STATUS NEVER MARRIED LAST MARRIAGE ENDED BY: DEATH DIVORCE ANNULMENT

18. NUMBER OF PREVIOUS MARRIAGES 19. COLOR OR RACE WHITE NEGRO OTHER (specify) 20. USUAL OCCUPATION 21. KIND OF BUSINESS OR INDUSTRY

DATE SIGNATURE(S) OF APPLICANT(S)

CERTIFICATION

DATE OF MARRIAGE (Month) (Day) (Year) PLACE OF MARRIAGE (County) (State)

DATE OF RECORDING SIGNATURE AND TITLE OF OFFICIAL MAKING RETURN TO STATE DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH

PUB-2019 6-24 DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE - PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC HEALTH
(State) OF VITAL STATISTICS

STANDARD RECORD OF
DIVORCE OR ANNULMENT

FORM APPROVED
BUREAU NO. 68-5847
STATE FILE NO.
LOCAL FILE NO.

COUNTY _____

HUSBAND			
1. NAME a. (First) b. (Middle) c. (Last)			2. DATE OF BIRTH (Month) (Day) (Year)
3. USUAL RESIDENCE a. (City) b. (County) c. (State)			4. PLACE (State or foreign country) OF BIRTH
5. NUMBER OF THIS MARRIAGE	6. RACE OR COLOR WHITE NEGRO OTHER <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> (specify)	7a. USUAL OCCUPATION	7b. KIND OF BUSINESS OR INDUSTRY
WIFE			
8. MAIDEN NAME a. (First) b. (Middle) c. (Last)			9. DATE OF BIRTH (Month) (Day) (Year)
10. USUAL RESIDENCE a. (City) b. (County) c. (State)			11. PLACE (State or foreign country) OF BIRTH
12. NUMBER OF THIS MARRIAGE	13. COLOR OR RACE WHITE NEGRO OTHER <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> (specify)	14a. USUAL OCCUPATION	14b. KIND OF BUSINESS OR INDUSTRY
15. PLACE OF MARRIAGE a. (Country) b. (State or foreign country)			16. DATE OF (Month) (Day) (Year) MARRIAGE
17. NUMBER OF CHILDREN UNDER 18	18. PLAINTIFF HUSBAND WIFE <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	19. DECREE GRANTED TO HUSBAND WIFE <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	20. LEGAL GROUNDS FOR DECREE
I hereby certify that the above persons were divorced on: (Month) (Day) (Year)			DATE OF RECORDING (Month) (Day) (Year)
SIGNATURE OF COURT OFFICIAL			TITLE OF COURT OFFICIAL

selection, marital adjustment, and child rearing than they were to make statistical analyses of marriage and divorce records. And demographers, whose forte lies in statistical compilation, concerned themselves with fertility, mortality, and migration, with only peripheral interest shown in marriage and divorce. In any event, social scientists—who had a definite stake in the establishment of a national marriage and divorce statistics program—did relatively little in the way of “selling” the program. The general sociological attitude was one of *laissez faire*, and it has only been in recent years that this attitude has changed in some measure.

RECENT PROGRESS

In spite of the difficulties, tangible progress has been made. While the advance has not been as speedy as many would have liked, and while current statistical coverage is not as comprehensive as a number of us would have preferred, results in the last ten years have nevertheless been encouraging. Many of the recording and reporting discrepancies among the various states have been eliminated, some uniform registration procedures have been adopted, record-

forms have been standardized, and, in general, cooperation among local, state, and national vital statistics offices has borne fruit.

Cooperation between federal and state offices has been enhanced by the creation of the Public Health Conference on Records and Statistics. Carter states that “This organization was created to provide for interchange and discussion of ideas and problems and to encourage cooperative action by the representatives of federal, State, and other organizations included in the membership.”⁷ Meeting biennially, the Conference includes representatives from state, territorial, and local registration areas, as well as individuals affiliated with the Census Bureau, the National Office of Vital Statistics, the American Public Health Association, the American Association of Registration Executives, and invited representatives from other social, governmental, and business organizations.

At the 1954 meeting of the Conference, standard records for marriage and divorce were

⁷ Hugh Carter, “Improving National Marriage and Divorce Statistics,” *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, 48 (September, 1953), pp. 453-461. See p. 454.

endorsed. These standard forms, developed jointly by the Conference and NOVS, go a long way toward overcoming what had previously been a major obstacle, namely provision for the collection of uniform marriage and divorce statistics from the individual states. For the information of readers of the *Review*, these standard forms are reproduced.

Uniformity of recording procedures has been further enhanced by the publication of a Working Draft of the *Manual for the Registration of Marriages*.⁸ Prepared by the NOVS in conjunction with the Working Group on Marriage and Divorce, the *Manual* provides local registrars and state officials with the procedural information necessary to insure systematic and standardized entries on the record-of-marriage.

Statistical progress has been made in areas other than form-standardization and recording procedures. Since 1945 there has been a steady increase in the number of states maintaining centralized files of marriage and divorce records. Whereas in that year 34 areas maintained centralized marriage files, by 1955 the number had reached 41—36 states, four territories, and one city. And during the same period, the number of areas maintaining centralized divorce files had increased from 23 to 36—31 states, four territories, and one city.

Perhaps the most significant advance in the marriage and divorce statistics program has been the establishment of a Marriage Registration Area (MRA), patterned along the lines of the present Birth and Death Registration areas. The new MRA, instituted in January, 1957, includes the following states and territories:⁹

States

Alabama
California
Connecticut
Delaware
Florida
Georgia
Idaho
Iowa
Kansas
Louisiana (except New Orleans)
Maine
Maryland
Michigan
Mississippi
Montana
New Hampshire
New Jersey

New York (except New York City)
Ohio
Oregon
Pennsylvania
Rhode Island
South Dakota
Tennessee
Utah
Vermont
Virginia
Wisconsin
Wyoming

Territories and Possessions

Alaska
Hawaii
Puerto Rico
Virgin Islands

Independent Registration Area

New Orleans, La.

As approved by the Public Health Conference on Records and Statistics, the criteria for admission to the Marriage Registration Area are as follows:¹⁰

- (1) Maintenance by the state or territory of centralized marriage records.
- (2) Adoption of report forms containing items on the "Standard Record of Marriage."
- (3) Regular reporting by all local areas to the State Office of Vital Statistics.
- (4) Agreement between the State Office and the National Office of Vital Statistics on joint testing of reporting for completeness and accuracy.

While the states in the MRA will record most of the items contained in the Standard Record of Marriage,¹¹ failure to record certain items does not necessarily preclude MRA membership. From the sociological view it is most desirable that all of the items on the Standard Record be completed by all MRA states. And while the newly inaugurated MRA will record statistical data on more than half of the nation's marriages, there is still some geographic distance to go before the goal of 100 per cent national registration is attained. Present plans call for the establishment of a Divorce and Annulment Registration Area (DARA), with similar criteria of admission, in the near future—probably before 1960.

What about the role of the sociologist in the development of a national marriage and divorce statistics program? The role has not been a large one, for while the availability of detailed marriage and divorce data would be

⁸ Document No. 390—Rev., May 28, 1956, reproduced by NOVS, Public Health Service, Washington, D. C.

⁹ U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare; Public Health Service, Mimeographed Release of January 4, 1957.

¹⁰ Public Health Service, NOVS, "Implementation of the Marriage Registration Area (MRA)," Document No. 407, July 19, 1956.

¹¹ See footnote 9.

of tremendous help in social analysis, sociologists generally have been slow to realize this fact. There are signs, however, that sociological interest in the statistical program may be accelerating. For the past three years the American Sociological Society has included a Committee on Marriage and Divorce Statistics as part of its regular business agenda. In an effort to further the MRA and DARA programs the 1956-57 Committee enlisted auxiliary members from the Eastern, Ohio Valley, Southern, and Pacific Sociological Societies. In 1956, for the first time, an official representative of the American Sociological Society participated in the Public Health Conference on Records and Statistics. In addition to the Society's appointee a number of other sociologists were also in attendance at the Conference. In short, while interest among sociologists has lagged, and in many ways continues to do so, they are more aware of the importance of marriage and divorce statistics than at any time in the past. There is also some indication that sociological views on the subject are being listened to.¹²

THE USES OF MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE RECORDS

"When people get married or divorced, the facts are recorded and filed. They have a right to assume—

The record will be universally acceptable as evidence of their marriage or divorce. . . .

If they or their heirs must establish the facts at any time, they will have no trouble in getting a certified copy."¹³

Thus, in simple language, is the basic need of the marriage and divorce record explained. Aside from marriage license clerks and other officials involved in vital registration, however, few people are aware of the variety of circumstances which necessitate the issuance of certified copies of marriage and divorce records. The following illustrations give some idea of the usages involved: prove right to receive insurance, pensions, military benefits, etc.; prove right to inheritance; establish citizenship; prove legitimacy of offspring; classify

draft registrants; administer payments to military spouses; enforce immigration and naturalization laws; issue passports; procure delayed birth certificates; establish rights to public assistance.¹⁴

For all of these usages, proper recording and filing of marriage and divorce records by local officials help to insure the availability of such records. Yet a major problem remains. Because of the fact that the original marriage and divorce records are filed in the county or area where action was initiated, and since there are thousands of local jurisdictions in the United States, it is often a difficult and tedious job to determine whether a marriage or a divorce has occurred. This is especially true in divorce cases, since only one of the spouses normally files suit, and since the divorce itself is usually preceded by a period of separation—with the plaintiff, perhaps, having moved to another state. If, however, a state has provisions for *centralized* marriage and divorce registration, the record-tracking task becomes relatively easy. Through the use of I.B.M.-type machines, alphabetical indexing of state-wide records is routinized, enabling the searcher to establish the fact of marriage or divorce, by name, year, and place of occurrence, almost immediately.

Nor is this the only advantage of centralized registration. Completion of centralized marriage and divorce registration for the country as a whole would mean that a variety of detailed tabular statistics could be prepared with a minimum of effort. Ultimately, punch-card sorting, either on a sampling or on a universal basis, would permit correlational analysis of parallel items on the marriage and divorce records, thus permitting certain causal inferences to be drawn. In these respects, publication of such marriage and divorce statistics would be of real interest to the government, business organizations, religious groups, and, of course, to social scientists.

Sociologists in particular have a vital stake in the marriage and divorce statistics program. The family continues to be a major area of sociological study. In the postwar period family researchers have made significant contributions to the field, both quantitatively and qualitatively. There is some tendency, however, in the teaching of family courses and in the writing of family texts, to go beyond the implications of empirical research findings. This tendency could perhaps be minimized if a sufficient body of statistical information were to be made available. We need to know, for instance, more about the age relationships in marriage and di-

¹² See the Report of the American Sociological Society's representative to the Public Health Conference on Records and Statistics, *American Sociological Review*, 21 (December, 1956), pp. 771-772.

¹³ "A Leaflet for Registration Clerks on the Purposes and Values of Marriage and Divorce Registration," prepared by the Marriage and Divorce Working Group of the Public Health Conference, and distributed by the American Association of Registration Executives, Dr. A. E. Bailey, Secretary-Treasurer, State Department of Health, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.

¹⁴ See the *Manual*, pp. 4-5 (footnote 8) for a more complete list of usages.

voice, about interracial and interclass marriages, about the effects of previous marital status on divorce, about geographical and urban-rural differences, about the relationship between children and divorce, about racial and occupational factors in marriage and divorce, about temporal changes in the duration of marriage, and a host of other relationships subject to statistical analysis. One way to avoid the temptation to substitute fancy for fact would be to plug strongly for the centralized collection and publication of comprehensive nationwide marriage and divorce statistics.

UNFINISHED BUSINESS

Sociological needs relative to the collection, analysis, and publication of marriage and divorce statistics are clear. The question remains, what can sociologists, both individually and collectively, do about furthering the program? The following points may be suggestive:

Insofar as collective action is concerned, the American Sociological Society for some time now has had a functioning Committee on Marriage and Divorce Statistics. In 1957, for the first time, auxiliary members were appointed to the Committee from regional societies. With this as a beginning, perhaps the regional societies will follow the pattern of the Eastern Sociological Society in forming their own committees. A significant number of states do not as yet have centralized marriage and divorce reporting, and possibly regional sociological committees could lend support in those states where it is needed. In the opinion of many observers, state programs can best be furthered by those living within the state; here regional efforts might prove rewarding.

Along the same lines, although the Marriage Registration Area was inaugurated in January, 1957, nineteen states have not yet joined. Our Committee plans to write to these non-member states with the aim of offering our help wherever it is requested. Again, however, it may be that regionally-affiliated sociologists, by virtue of being closer to the scene and having fuller awareness of the pertinent legal and political problems, can be more effective.

It would probably be advantageous for all concerned if individual sociologists would familiarize themselves with the recording and reporting procedures in their home states. A number of states have not yet adopted the standard records of marriage and divorce, and with some persuasion it might be possible to

convince state directors of vital statistics that during the changeover additional items, such as education and religion, would provide valuable statistical information. It was never the intention of the NOVS or of the Conference cited above to restrict the number of items collected, but rather to insure that a minimum number of standard items be included. Whether the marriage and divorce records in the various states provide for additional information will depend in part on the salesmanship of sociologists.

In those states which are not now members of the MRA (or, eventually, of the DARA), there is much for individual sociologists to do. In some of these non-member states, local conditions are such as to militate against adequate transcription, and in-state sociologists might be in an excellent position to help iron out the trouble. It is hardly to be expected that state directors of vital statistics in these areas will turn to sociologists for help; but on the other hand, it may be that these men would welcome sociological assistance if it were offered.

Another contribution that could be made in the marriage and divorce area would be that of communicating to officials at all levels the fact that, as consumers, sociologists actively desire to make use of the statistics. Public officials would be less than human if they did not cater to the legitimate desires of their constituents. But in the case at hand sociologists have all too often left their desires unknown. Demographers have certainly shown no hesitancy in making their needs known to the Census Bureau, and as a result the scope of demographic statistics has been widened—to the benefit not only of social scientists but of the public as well.

In an academic sense, also, it would certainly seem that such views as those expressed in this report could be more vigorously voiced by sociologists. Neither in their writings nor in their classrooms is the "case" for comprehensive marriage and divorce statistics given more than passing notice—in contrast to the space and time devoted to other substantive areas. Sociologists can take pride in the valuable work they have done in such fields as criminology and race relations. In these instances the sociological viewpoint helped to sustain the juvenile court movement, penal reform, F.E.P.C., and other action programs. If a fraction of the enthusiasm the sociological fraternity has evidenced in these fields could be carried over to the national marriage and divorce statistics program, the results might be similarly rewarding.

COMMUNICATIONS

COMMENT ON RICHARD THURNWALD —AND BECKER AND BOSKOFF

To the Editor:

The new volume, *Modern Sociological Theory in Continuity and Change*, edited by Becker and Boskoff, and reviewed in the February, 1958, issue of this journal, includes a chapter by W. E. Mühlmann called "Sociology in Germany: Shift in Alignment." We wish to take issue with Professor Mühlmann's piece on two points.

The first is with reference to his statement on page 683 that the German journal, *Sociologus*, "has not appeared" since the death of its editor, Richard Thurnwald, in 1954. This sentence must have come as a surprise to American anthropologists and sociologists who have not only read but contributed to the publication during the past three years. Indeed, Professor Mühlmann himself may have experienced some nagging doubt on seeing this assertion in print, in view of the fact that he wrote for or was written about in this same journal repeatedly during the 1954-1956 period. *Sociologus* was reactivated in 1951, after having been defunct for eighteen years. From its origins in 1925 until its suppression in 1933 it was published as *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Soziologie*, and was edited by Richard Thurnwald. He also served as editor from 1951 to his death in 1954, when his wife, Hilde Thurnwald, took his place.

The second, and more serious, point on which we take issue with Professor Mühlmann concerns the assessment which he has made of Thurnwald's contribution to anthropology and sociology. Those not fully acquainted with the scope and influence of Thurnwald's work may dismiss him, on reading Mühlmann's appraisal, as a "cultural sociologist" who was regarded lightly not only by his German contemporaries but by the rest of the scholarly world as well. We believe this to be an injustice to a man whose impact on the study

of human behavior was at once profound and durable.

One has only to read the commemorative articles by Wolfram Eberhard¹ and Robert H. Lowie² to see that Thurnwald was, indeed, a first-rank scholar whose empirical and conceptual contributions place him among the leading anthropologists and sociologists of our century. Equally instructive is Lowie's earlier critical appraisal.³ Those who know the literature are aware of Thurnwald's original elaborations of the descriptive data on human cultures. His monograph on Banaro society is regarded by students of social organization as among the best of its kind.⁴

Thurnwald's theoretical writings on the "functional" interpretation of social behavior antedate the conclusions of Radcliffe-Brown and Malinowski by a number of years. His observations concerning the universal socio-psychological nature of human behavior were original offerings to conceptual schemes in both anthropology and sociology. Moreover, his statements form a part of the "working vocabulary" of many contemporary scholars in these fields.⁵ Whatever else may be said about Thurnwald's work, it must be admitted to have stimulated an entire area of research whose generalizations form a lasting part of contemporary social sci-

¹ Wolfram Eberhard, "In Memoriam Richard Thurnwald," *Revista de Museu Paulista*, Nova Serie, IX (1955), pp. 293-298.

² Robert H. Lowie, "Richard Thurnwald, 1864-1954," *American Anthropologist*, 56 (1954), pp. 863-867.

³ Robert H. Lowie, "Thurnwald," in *The History of Ethnological Theory* (New York: Rinehart and Company, 1937), pp. 242-249.

⁴ Richard Thurnwald, "Banaro Society," *American Anthropological Association Memoirs*, 3, 4, 1916.

⁵ For a complete bibliography of Thurnwald to 1950 see *Beiträge zur Gesellschafts- und Völkerwissenschaft: Professor Richard Thurnwald zu seinem Achtzigsten Geburtstag Gewidmet*. For citations of Thurnwald's publications from 1950-1954 see Eberhard, *op. cit.*

ence knowledge. His repeated insistence that the processes of acculturation and social change are vital for the scientific understanding of human behavior was well known to Linton, Redfield, and others who went on to develop theory and research in these areas.

At the end of his life Thurnwald was actively engaged in the refinement of a series of ideas which, like those mentioned above, may have a profound impact on future research. In a 1950 publication⁶ he developed an exploratory inductive classification of societies. This work is a novel exploration of societies in terms of psychological differences that appear repeatedly in various culture areas of the world. Such a scheme is a marked departure from the material culture criteria commonly used to type social groups and to gauge social change or stability.

The first error—concerning the fate of *Sociologus*—is a matter of fact. The second—concerning the contribution of Thurnwald—is to some extent at least a matter of opinion and therefore more difficult to arrest. It is somewhat surprising, however, that Professor Mühlmann did not, in his researches, come across contrary views concerning Thurnwald and, having done so, share them with his readers. Even more puzzling, perhaps, is the fact that Professor Becker, who is widely regarded as an expert on German sociology, let both this omission and the *Sociologus* error slip through unchallenged.

WILSON RECORD

and THOMAS R. WILLIAMS

Sacramento State College

FURTHER COMMENT ON THURNWALD —AND BECKER AND BOSKOFF *

To the Editor:

Modern Sociological Theory in Continuity and Change, edited by Howard Becker and Alvin Boskoff, and reviewed in the February issue of this journal, contains a contribution of mine, "Sociology in Germany: Shift and Alignment" (pp. 658-694). Unfortunately, I must

⁶ Richard Thurnwald, *Der Mensch Geringer Natur-Beherrschung, Sein Aufsteigen Zwischen Vernunft und Wahn* (Berlin: 1950).

* This communication is not a "reply" to the statement by Record and Williams above, having been sent to the *Review* independently.

make the following comments concerning the form in which my article appears.

It is the translated and severely shortened version of a German text of 70 typed pages. Some errors have crept into the English version which were not in the original text. I was given the opportunity to read the English version, but my corrections presumably were not considered, although Professor Becker reassured me in this respect in a letter of June 1, 1956. Nor had I an opportunity to read the proofs. The main errors are the following:

On page 663 "political 'party'" should read "party." Simmel, as far as I know, never dealt with political parties but was keenly interested in the socio-psychological aspects of the "party" (in the sense of tea party, for example, or garden party).

On page 683 the English text runs as follows: "Richard Thurnwald resumed his *Sociologus* which is dedicated chiefly to ethnology, but since his death in 1954 it has not appeared." Compare my German original: "Richard Thurnwald restituierte seinen '*Sociologus*,' der sich wieder vorzugsweise der Ethnologie widmet." The addition of "but since his death in 1954 it has not appeared" is erroneous, as any scholar familiar with sociological periodicals knows. *Sociologus*, after Richard Thurnwald's death, appeared under the editorship of Mrs. Hilde Thurnwald. This misrepresentation of the original text is the more painful for me as I myself have contributed to several issues of *Sociologus* after Thurnwald's death.

W. E. MÜHLMANN

University of Mainz

CLASS AND BEHAVIOR

To the Editor:

We are now in an era when it is fashionable to utilize statistical virtuosity as a means of attacking traditional sociological notions. The articles on social class and child rearing in the *Review* of December, 1957, are a good example of this tendency and the very fact that they fit in with the *zeitgeist* suggests that they should be examined all the more critically. These articles imply that there are little if any differences between middle class and lower class (the White article uses the more ambiguous term—"working class") child rearing techniques and attitudes. Both articles express concern lest their conclusions be an artifact of the methodol-

ogy used and admit that perhaps the interview technique is not the best method of gaining data of this type. The only alternative mentioned is the observation of behavior, which admittedly has technical problems. One wonders, however, if a collection of life histories and reports from informants such as teachers, playground supervisors, visiting nurses, social workers, etc., might not be more reliable than interview questionnaires.

In respect to the studies that were actually undertaken, two observations might be made. The first is that the terms "lower class" and "middle class" in these studies are used so broadly that differences at the extremes might easily be cancelled out by agreement at the middle. Apparently the sample was dictated by statistical predilections rather than the needs of the study. White states, "Such a gross, dichotomous classification was used tentatively, but it proved to be meaningful, not unduly distorting the underlying structure, and seemed appropriate to the size of the sample and the statistical measures used." We are not told how it "proved meaningful" or how White knows that it "did not distort the underlying structure."

Both of these studies place groups which would appear to be upper-lower in contrast with groups which would seem to be lower-middle class. One suspects that a large part of the sample is drawn from these two social class groups, and this is reinforced by the comparatively small spread of income differences between the middle class and lower class groups. It would seem quite possible that, if groups taken for comparison are upper-middle class and lower-lower class, traditional differences might emerge more clearly.

One might also question the sampling procedure. In the Eugene study the sample was taken by a random drawing of school population throughout the city. In the study reported by White, the data came from what would appear to be a string of relatively homogeneous suburban and industrial communities. It would seem obvious that a better contrast would have been obtained by comparing residents of upper-middle class and slum communities. One might well question whether minor differences in education, earning power, and occupation are as indicative of social class as location in a neighborhood.

In view of the probability that these studies did not accurately select lower class and middle class respondents and that an emphasis on the

means tended to obscure differences at the extremes, the traditional notion of the class-related aspects of child rearing has not been seriously challenged by these articles.

CHESTER L. HUNT

Western Michigan University

COMMENT ON *THE FABRIC OF SOCIETY*

To the Editor:

Michael Hakeem's review (*American Sociological Review*, 22, December, 1957) of *The Fabric of Society* by Ralph Ross and Ernest van den Haag was competent and commendatory. Professor Hakeem quarrels with the full-dress exposition of psychoanalysis (to my mind one of the most lucid and concise available). Unlike Professor Hakeem I do not think the authors give the impression that Freud is always right. They suggest explicitly that, in view of existing evidence, his views should be regarded as hypothetical. (The hypothesis of original patricide is rejected.) The authors state psychoanalysis should be understood by students of contemporary American society because it has greatly influenced cultural anthropology, psychiatry, child rearing, education, popular literature and popular behavior. Thus Professor Hakeem's quarrel with Freud should not lead him to object to the exposition of Freud in *The Fabric of Society*.

Professor Hakeem treats *The Fabric of Society* as only a textbook—though an excellent one. Clearly it is that. But the volume contains new ideas, not found elsewhere. If Ross and van den Haag are right, then many other sociologists must be wrong and if they are wrong Professor Hakeem should have told us. Here are some instances: The authors take a stand on segregation contrary to that of almost all sociologists on record; and they rebut Kenneth Clark's experiment with dolls (Chapter 14). The same chapter contains an original discussion of snobbery which they relate to segregation. Chapters 12 and 13 on mobility and status introduce what seem to me new ideas into that field. The authors' views on Group Relations (Chapter 6) and Leadership and Authority (Chapter 8), and on Popular Culture (Chapter 15)—a unique interpretation of mass culture—are not found in other textbooks. The sections on economics, national and international politics, and Marxism have similar marks of originality.

These are matters that should interest sociologists. I think that many sociologists appreciate discussions of *ideas* in books (if they contain ideas—as does *The Fabric of Society*) as much as assessments of their didactic utility.

BARBARA SCHWARTZMAN

Brooklyn College

CORRECTION

Howard Becker writes: "‘Type lice’ did not disappear with the passing of the old-fashioned job printer. These insects have been at work

in the review of *Modern Sociological Theory in Continuity and Change* [in the February, 1958, issue of the *Review*, pp. 95–97—the first issue under the present editorship]. On page 96 ‘Eisler’ should read ‘Eister,’ and in the middle of the second page the quotation should thus appear: ‘Reluctance and readiness to accept or initiate social change provide the construction lines of what might be called a sacred-secular scale or continuum.’ The error in [this] quotation is of some importance, for as printed in the review the type lice had perpetrated ‘imitate.’” My apologies to all concerned for those lice.

THE EDITOR

Grants for Asian Sociologists

The American Sociological Society has received from The Asia Foundation a grant of \$2,500, for the purpose of encouraging closer relations between Asian and American sociologists. The funds will be used in three ways:

- (1) To enable Asian sociologists to become members of the American Sociological Society and to receive a three-year subscription to one or more of its official publications.

(Membership in the Society and a three-year subscription to the *American Sociological Review* will be \$1.00; if all Society publications are desired, the three-year cost will be \$2.00. Applicants should write directly to The American Sociological Society, New York University, Washington Square, New York 3, New York. Payment may be made in UNESCO coupons or in any way convenient and acceptable under the exchange regulations of the Asian country concerned. The privilege is extended to graduate students as well as to established sociologists.)

- (2) To enable libraries, university departments, and research institutes in Asia, who have heretofore been unable to subscribe, to subscribe to publications of the Society at reduced rates.

(The cost of a three-year institutional subscription to the *American Sociological Review* will be \$2.00; and for all the publications of the Society, including *Sociometry*, \$3.00—payable as above.)

- (3) To supplement travel expenses for Asian sociologists who are in the United States and who wish to attend meetings of the American Sociological Society.

(Applicants must be at least at the graduate student level and may come from any Asian country from Afghanistan eastward. An applicant should write to the Chairman of the administering committee, as listed below. In his request the applicant should give his regular academic position, the nature of his study or visit in the United States, the meeting which he plans to attend, and the sum necessary for transportation to and from the meeting.)

The grant is being administered by a special committee composed of the following:

Professor Kingsley Davis, *Chairman*, Department of Sociology and Social Institutions, University of California, Berkeley, California.

Professor Wolfram Eberhard, Department of Sociology and Social Institutions, University of California, Berkeley, California.

Professor Amos H. Hawley, Department of Sociology, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

Professor Marion J. Levy, Jr., Department of Sociology, Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey.

Professor Bryce F. Ryan, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, University of Miami, Coral Gables 46, Florida.

OFFICIAL REPORTS AND PROCEEDINGS

AUDITOR'S REPORT

For the year ended November 30, 1957

January 17, 1958

Council

The American Sociological Society
Washington Square
New York, New York

Gentlemen:

In accordance with instructions, we have examined the financial records of the American Sociological Society for the fiscal year ended November 30, 1957. We submit herewith the following Exhibits:

Statement of Cash Receipts and Disbursements for the Fiscal Year
Ended November 30, 1957.....Exhibit A

Statement of Securities
Transactions for the Fiscal Year
Ended November 30, 1957.....Exhibit B

The accounting system of the Society is limited to a cash receipts and disbursements basis, only cash journals being used to record financial transactions.

The Cash Balances as at November 30, 1957, were confirmed directly to us by the depositories. We made a physical count on January 7, 1958 of the stocks and bonds listed in Exhibit B. Verifications in connection with other assets and any liabilities of the Society as of November 30, 1957, have been omitted. The only cash receipts confirmed by reference to outside sources were dividends on stocks and bank interest income. We made tests to ascertain that membership dues, *Review* subscriptions, and sales, *Review* advertising, and other types of receipts were properly entered in the cash receipts journal, and that all such receipts were properly deposited in the banks. In addition, we made an examination of the paid invoices and payroll and compared them with entries in the cash disbursements journal.

The book values shown for the securities on hand at November 30, 1957, which were purchased subsequent to November 30, 1948, are stated at cost, whereas the values shown for securities acquired prior to that date are stated at values obtained from previous Auditors' reports; adjustments being made thereto to reflect capital changes. The November 30, 1957 market values represent the published redemption values for the bonds and the last closing Stock Exchange prices prior to December 1, 1957 for the stock.

In our opinion, subject to the foregoing comments, the accompanying Statement of Cash Receipts and Disbursements (Exhibit A) and

Statement of Security Transactions (Exhibit B) present fairly the cash transactions of The American Sociological Society for the fiscal year ended November 30, 1957.

We wish to express our appreciation of the courtesies extended to us by the Executive Officer and her assistants during the course of our examination.

Respectfully submitted,
KING AND COMPANY
Certified Public Accountants
68 William Street
New York 5, N. Y.

Addendum to Proceedings of the 52nd Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Society

Upon the request of Dr. Thomas P. Monahan the following addition to the Proceedings is recorded:

A resolution calling for the affirmation of the Society of the essential value of race-or-color as an item in all broadly designed statistical inquiries was received from Thomas P. Monahan and referred to the Resolutions Committee.

FINANCIAL REPORT FROM THE EXECUTIVE OFFICE

March, 1958

Table 1 summarizes the expenditures for the past year, comparing them with the authorized budget for that year, and indicating the extent to which the various activities of the Society were self-supporting (through subscriptions, advertising, and the like) or were supported from dues or special funds. This statement adjusts the cash figures as shown by the audit in order to fit the current year more exactly. Considerably increased expenditures, reflecting the rapid expansion of Society activity as well as the generally rising level of all costs, were not entirely offset by increases in income; so that the year ended with a deficit of \$400.

Table 2 shows the budget which has been authorized by the Council for the fiscal year 1958. While this involves a deficit of nearly \$4,000, the Budget Committee and the Council felt that this was justified for a year by the types of services the Society is obligated to perform for its members and for the profession at large. This budget will be reviewed by the Council in the middle of the year.

Respectfully submitted,
MATILDA WHITE RILEY
Executive Officer

THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

EXHIBIT A

STATEMENT OF CASH RECEIPTS
AND DISBURSEMENTSFOR THE FISCAL YEAR
ENDED NOVEMBER 30, 1957

	Cash Receipts	Cash Disbursements	Excess (Deficiency) of Receipts over Disbursements
<i>Membership Dues:</i>			
Active and Associate	\$ 34,592.65	\$ 140.75	
Joint	139.00		
Student	7,383.25		
Life	200.00		
	<u>\$ 42,314.90(A)</u>	<u>\$ 140.75</u>	\$ 42,174.15
<i>American Sociological Review:</i>			
Subscriptions	\$ 15,666.49	\$ 66.05	
Sale of Back Issues	2,071.45	20.55	
Advertising Income	5,085.27	18.00	
Printing and Mailing	11.45	25,388.48	
Clerical Salaries—Editor		4,350.00	
—Office		2,500.00(B)	
Editor's Expense		853.58	
Miscellaneous Expense		1,500.00(C)	
	<u>\$ 22,834.66</u>	<u>\$ 34,696.66</u>	\$ (11,862.00)
<i>Sociometry:</i>			
Subscriptions	\$ 8,308.11	\$ 99.48	
Sale of Back Issues	132.97	8.00	
Printing and Mailing		4,821.84	
Clerical Salaries—Editor		200.00	
—Office		1,600.00(B)	
Editor's Expense		403.88	
Miscellaneous Expense		800.00(C)	
	<u>\$ 8,441.08</u>	<u>\$ 7,933.20</u>	\$ 507.88
<i>Current Sociology:</i>			
Subscriptions	\$ 269.70		
Payments to Publisher		\$ 248.27	
Clerical Salaries		50.00(B)	
	<u>\$ 269.70</u>	<u>\$ 298.27</u>	\$ (28.57)
<i>Employment Bulletin:</i>			
Payments for Listings	\$ 186.36	\$ 6.00	
Clerical Salaries		700.00(B)	
Miscellaneous Expense		800.00(C)	
	<u>\$ 186.36</u>	<u>\$ 1,506.00</u>	\$ (1,319.64)

EXHIBIT A—Continued

STATEMENT OF CASH RECEIPTS
AND DISBURSEMENTSFOR THE FISCAL YEAR
ENDED NOVEMBER 30, 1957

	Cash Receipts	Cash Disbursements	Excess (Deficiency) of Receipts over Disbursements
<i>Index:</i>			
Sales	\$ 1,371.78		
Clerical Salaries		\$ 50.00(B)	
Miscellaneous Expense		50.00(C)	
	<u>\$ 1,371.78</u>	<u>\$ 100.00</u>	\$ 1,271.78
<i>Directory:</i>			
Sales	\$ 587.73	\$ 2.00	
Printing and Mailing		1,308.33	
Clerical Salaries		50.00(B)	
Miscellaneous Expense		50.00(C)	
	<u>\$ 587.73</u>	<u>\$ 1,410.33</u>	\$ (822.60)
<i>Research Census:</i>			
Report Sales	\$ 308.75		
Mailing Questionnaire		\$ 589.71	
Report Expenses		231.28	
Clerical Salaries		400.00(B)	
	<u>\$ 308.75</u>	<u>\$ 1,220.99</u>	\$ (912.24)
<i>Program Abstracts:</i>			
Sales	\$ 282.05	\$ 4.00	\$ 278.05
<i>Annual Meeting:</i>			
Registration Fees	\$ 3,543.00		
Meals and Receptions	255.00	\$ 471.88	
Abstracts—Mimeographing & Mailing		800.00(C)	
—Clerical Salaries		800.00(B)	
Program—Advertising Income	2,187.72	43.30	
—Printing and Mailing		3,250.79	
Book Exhibits—Income	1,792.40		
—Expenses		122.30	
Miscellaneous Expenses	90.40	649.51	
Clerical Salaries		200.00(B)	
Travel	34.08	128.00	
Bus Tours	108.95	156.19	
	<u>\$ 8,011.55</u>	<u>\$ 6,621.97</u>	\$ 1,389.58

EXHIBIT A—Continued

STATEMENT OF CASH RECEIPTS
AND DISBURSEMENTSFOR THE FISCAL YEAR
ENDED NOVEMBER 30, 1957

	Cash Receipts	Cash Disbursements	Excess (Deficiency) of Receipts over Disbursements
<i>Russell Sage Bulletins:</i>			
Sales	\$ 138.52	\$ 2.80	
Advance on Second Series	2,250.00		
Honoraria to Authors		750.00	
Payments to Publisher		95.67	
Clerical Salaries		10.00(B)	
	<u>\$ 2,388.52</u>	<u>\$ 858.47</u>	\$ 1,530.05
<i>Committees:</i>			
Executive—Travel		\$ 1,202.88	
—Clerical Salaries		600.00(B)	
—Miscellaneous Expense		300.00(C)	
Program—Clerical Salaries		1,000.00(B)	
—Miscellaneous Expense		100.00(C)	
Nominating—Expense		473.38	
Social Statistics—Expenses		266.24	
Other Committees and Representatives—			
—Travel		508.07	
—Clerical Salaries		600.00(B)	
—Miscellaneous		50.00(C)	
	<u>—</u>	<u>\$ 5,100.57</u>	\$(5,100.57)
<i>Office:</i>			
Executive Officer's Salary—			
Part-Time		\$ 3,499.92	
Clerical Salaries			
Routine Member Mailings			
and Dues Collections		3,678.50(B)	
Correspondence		3,940.00(B)	
Filing and Miscellaneous		3,400.00(B)	
Printing, Mailing and Other Expenses—			
Membership Notices, Files, etc.		2,818.56	
Rent		800.00	
Insurance	\$ 1.00		
Office Maintenance Expense		492.29	
Purchase of Office Equipment			
Dictaphone		463.25	
Files, Desks, and Chairs		227.00	
Royal Typewriter		215.25	
D.C. Motors		82.47	
	<u>\$ 1.00</u>	<u>\$ 19,617.24</u>	\$(19,616.24)

EXHIBIT A—Continued

STATEMENT OF CASH RECEIPTS
AND DISBURSEMENTSFOR THE FISCAL YEAR
ENDED NOVEMBER 30, 1957

	Cash Receipts	Cash Disbursements	Excess (Deficiency) of Receipts over Disbursements
<i>Miscellaneous:</i>			
Dividends	\$ 232.00		
Savings Account Interest—General	289.70		
Audit Fee		\$ 200.00	
Dues to Other Societies— ISA and ACLS		702.80	
Other Dues and Subscriptions		38.00	
Mailing List Rentals	743.39	417.77	
Miscellaneous Reimbursed Expenditures	114.03	114.03	
Social Security Taxes—Net		909.81	
Fee re: Franchise Tax Exemption		100.00	
Miscellaneous Income and Expense	2.61	5.77	
	<u>\$ 1,381.73</u>	<u>\$ 2,488.18</u>	<u>\$(1,106.45)</u>
<i>Other Items:</i>			
Other Journals for Members:			
Subscriptions	\$ 8,113.82	\$ 7.00	
Payments to Publishers		8,835.32	
Clerical Salaries		700.00(B)	
Miscellaneous Expense		150.00(C)	
Robert MacIver Award Fund:			
Savings Account Interest	91.67		
Royalties	118.70		
Travel		70.96	
Miscellaneous		8.00	
Carnegie Travel Grant	9,000.00		
Savings Account Interest	67.50		
Sale of Securities	2,908.09		
	<u>\$ 20,299.78</u>	<u>\$ 9,771.28</u>	<u>\$ 10,528.50</u>
TOTAL CASH RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS	<u><u>\$108,679.59</u></u>	<u><u>\$ 91,767.91</u></u>	
EXCESS OF CASH RECEIPTS OVER DISBURSEMENTS			\$ 16,911.68
CASH BALANCE—DECEMBER 1, 1956			\$ 30,286.22
CASH BALANCE—NOVEMBER 30, 1957			<u><u>\$ 47,197.90</u></u>

EXHIBIT A—Continued

STATEMENT OF CASH RECEIPTS
AND DISBURSEMENTSFOR THE FISCAL YEAR
ENDED NOVEMBER 30, 1957

	Cash Receipts	Cash Disbursements	Excess (Deficiency) of Receipts over Disbursements
Consisting of:			
General Funds:			
Checking Account—			
Chemical Corn Exchange Bank		\$ 25,655.80	
Disbursed for Robert MacIver			
Award Fund		2.00	\$ 25,657.80
Savings Accounts—			
American Irving Savings Bank			9,143.63
			\$ 34,801.43
Carnegie Travel Grant:			
First National City Bank—Savings Account			9,067.50
Robert MacIver Award Fund:			
First National City Bank—Savings Account	\$ 3,330.97		
Less: Due to General Fund		2.00	3,328.97
			\$ 47,197.90

Notes:

- (A) Includes membership dues for the calendar year 1958 of \$13,514.20.
 (B) Allocated portion of office salaries paid.
 (C) Includes allocated portion of office mailing expenses.

THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY
EXHIBIT B

STATEMENT OF
SECURITIES TRANSACTIONS

FOR THE FISCAL YEAR
ENDED NOVEMBER 30, 1957

	Balance November 30, 1956				Transactions during the Year				Balance November 30, 1957			Divi- dends Received during the Year
	Date Acquired	Face Amount or Number of Shares	Book Value	Purchases	Sales Proceeds	Profit	Face Amount or Number of Shares	Book Value	Redemption or Market Value			
Bonds:												
U. S. Savings	Series F due 6/1/57	1945	\$ 2,000.00	\$ 1,480.00	\$	\$	\$ 2,000.00	\$ 1,480.00	\$ 2,000.00	\$		
U. S. Savings	Series F due 8/1/62	1950	8,000.00	5,920.00	.....	.....	8,000.00	5,920.00	6,784.00	
U. S. Savings	Series J due 3/1/66	1954	11,000.00	7,920.00	.....	.....	11,000.00	7,920.00	8,448.00	
U. S. Savings	Series J due 3/1/67	1955	11,100.00	7,992.00	.....	.....	11,100.00	7,992.00	8,325.00	
U. S. Savings	Series J due 6/1/68	1956	4,175.00	3,006.00	.....	.....	4,175.00	3,006.00	3,068.61	
Stocks:												
Standard Oil Company of New Jersey	Capital	1940	72	533.56	.....	.....	72	533.56	3,708.00	162.00
Union Pacific Railroad Company	Common	1945-48	100	1,313.75	.....	2,908.09	.....	.....	.....	70.00
				\$28,165.31	.....	\$2,908.09	.....	\$26,851.56	\$32,333.61	\$232.00

TABLE 1. EXECUTIVE OFFICER'S FINANCIAL STATEMENT FOR THE FISCAL YEAR 1957

	BUDGET TOTAL	TOTAL ACTUAL	INCOME ALLOCATIONS		
			Dues	Special Funds	All Other (subscr., ads, etc.)
EXPENDITURES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
I. PUBLICATIONS					
<i>Review</i>	\$38,806	\$ 39,137	\$ 16,247		\$22,890
<i>Sociometry</i>	8,265	8,134	(+200)		8,334
Employment Bulletin	1,500	1,500	1,320		180
Directory	100	660	74		586
Index	100	100	(+1,272)		1,372
Research Listing	1,144	1,221	912		309
Program Abstracts	—	—	(+278)		278
Russell Sage Bulletins	790	856	(+30)	\$750	136
<i>Current Sociology</i>	288	281	11		270
TOTAL	\$50,993	\$ 51,889	\$ 16,784	\$750	\$34,355
II. ANNUAL MEETING	\$ 4,152	\$ 4,273	\$ (+1,505)		\$ 5,778
III. OFFICE (excl. amt. allocated)	16,210	19,616	19,616		
IV. COMMITTEES	4,050	5,100	5,100		
V. MISCELLANEOUS	8,291	10,385	1,025	\$ 79	9,281
TOTAL EXPENDITURES	\$83,696	\$ 91,263	\$ 41,020	\$829	\$49,414
TOTAL INCOME	\$83,942	\$ 90,847	\$ 40,604	\$829	\$49,414
NET	\$ 246	\$ (-416)	\$ (-416)		

TABLE 2. BUDGET FOR THE FISCAL YEAR 1958

	BUDGET REQUIRING AUTHORIZATION	DETAILS OF PUBLICATION BUDGET	INCOME ALLOCATIONS		
			Dues	Special Funds	All Other (subscr., ads, etc.)
EXPENDITURES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
I. PUBLICATIONS					
<i>Review</i>		\$40,671	\$ 15,619	\$1,600	\$23,452
<i>Sociometry</i>		9,444	(+315)	450	9,309
Employment Bulletin		1,800	1,620		180
Directory		20	(+130)		150
Index		20	(+380)		400
Research Listing		1,390	1,081		309
Program Abstracts		—	(+278)		278
Russell Sage Bulletins		1,135	(+15)	1,050	100
<i>Current Sociology</i>		255	(+15)		270
Recruitment Brochure		1,000	1,000		—
TOTAL	\$ 55,735		\$ 18,187	\$3,100	\$34,448
II. ANNUAL MEETING	\$ 4,673		\$ 421		\$ 4,252
III. OFFICE (excl. amt. allocated)	21,457		21,457		—
V. COMMITTEES	6,353		5,453	900	—
V. MISCELLANEOUS	11,359		1,403	700	9,256
TOTAL EXPENDITURES	\$ 99,577		\$ 46,921	\$4,700	\$47,956
TOTAL INCOME	\$ 95,696		\$ 43,040	\$4,700	\$47,956
NET (DEFICIT)	\$(-3,881)		\$(-3,881)		

NEWS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

Authors of articles and reviews should consult the *Notice to Contributors* (American Sociological Review), 23, 1 [February, 1958], p. 87) when preparing manuscripts for possible publication.

Association Internationale de Cybernetique. The Second International Congress of Cybernetics is to be held at Namur, Belgium, September 3-10, 1958. Inquiries may be addressed to Mr. J. Lemaire, 13. Rue Basse Marcelle, Namur (Belgique).

Pan American Union, Organization of States. A new fellowship program, recommended by the Inter-American Committee of Presidential Representatives, will begin on July 1, 1958, and will offer grants for advanced study or research to specialists throughout the Western Hemisphere. Qualified persons who are looking for an opportunity to do pure research, improve their professional skill through a postgraduate course, or enroll in an advanced technical course may apply now to: Technical Secretary, OAS Fellowship Program, Pan American Union, Washington 6, D. C.

American Association for the Advancement of Science. Announcement has been made of the conditions of competition for the annual AAAS Socio-Psychological Prize of 1,000 dollars for a meritorious essay, to be awarded at the annual meeting in December, 1958. Entries must be received not later than September 1, 1958. Hitherto unpublished manuscripts are eligible, as are manuscripts that have been published since January 1, 1957. Preference will be given to manuscripts not over 50,000 words in length. For details, address: Dael Wolfe, Executive Officer, AAAS, 1515 Massachusetts Ave., N.W., Washington 5, D. C.

American Council on Education. Mrs. Opal D. David, of Washington, has been named director of a three-year project financed by a 75,000 dollar grant from the Lilly Endowment, Inc., that will offer clearing house and consultative service in the area of women's education. The project involves the study of the effectiveness of educational programs for women in the light of research and changing conditions, and will publish information in the area of study.

Branson Foundation Inc. John Nordscog, Associate Professor of Sociology at the University of Southern California, is serving on the Board of Directors of the Foundation, a non-profit corporation founded November, 1957, to further research, rehabilitation, and preventative measures in the study and control of compulsive emotional problems.

Carnegie Corporation of New York. The following grants have been awarded: to the University of Colorado, 125,000 dollars for an inter-university committee on the superior student; to the University of North Carolina, 100,000 dollars for support of a program for superior students; to Emory University, 96,825 dollars for the expansion of the program of its Graduate Institute of Liberal Arts; to Yale University, 120,000 dollars for its College Teacher Recruiting Program; and to Columbia University, 185,000 dollars for strengthening its general education program in Asian Civilizations.

The College Entrance Examination Board announces the availability to research workers in psychology, education and the social sciences of a volume entitled *The Research Activities of the College Entrance Examination Board, 1952-1957*. This volume contains a non-technical discussion of the more than two hundred studies supported by the Board in these areas. Address requests to: Dr. Joshua A. Fishman, Director of Research, College Entrance Examination Board, 425 West 117 Street, New York 27.

The Inter-University Committee on Travel Grants will continue during 1958-1959 its program of awards for scholarly travel to the Soviet Union and East Central Europe. To be eligible for consideration, students must be fairly well advanced in a graduate program leading to full professional competence on the Soviet Union. They must be proficient in the Russian language, American citizens, and not over 35 years of age. Instructions can be secured from the Committee at 409 West 117 Street, New York 27.

National Science Foundation. As part of its Social Science Research Program, the following grants in sociology and social psychology were recently made: U. Bronfenbrenner, Cornell University, "Identification and Family Structure," one year; R. D. Luce, Harvard University, "Mathematics of Imperfect Discrimination," one year; C. De Soto, Johns Hopkins University, "Conceptual Learning of Relationships," two years; and D. O. Price, University of North Carolina, "Computer Research in Demography," one year. The next closing date for the receipt of proposals in this program is October 1, 1958.

The Population Council. W. Parker Mauldin was on leave from September through April on assignment with the United Nations Technical Assistance Administration. He served as a staff member of the UN Demographic Training and Research Centre for Asia in Bombay and has since visited Indian, Middle Eastern and European universities and population research centers. His place was taken by Vincent H. Whitney, who is on leave from Brown University. Dudley Kirk is serving as a member of the Technical Board of the second UN

Training and Research Centre for Latin America in Santiago, Chile, which he visited in November.

Russell Sage Foundation announces residencies for training and experience in the applications of behavioral science in professional practice. Applicants are eligible if they have received the doctorate or will have completed all requirements for the doctorate in sociology, social psychology, or anthropology before the date on which the requested residency is to begin, and may not be over thirty-five years of age. Appointments are made for one year with the possibility of renewal for one additional year. Awards may be made at any time during the year. Stipends range from 3,500 dollars to 5,000 dollars. Requests for information should be addressed to: Russell Sage Foundation, 505 Park Avenue, New York 22, New York.

The Society for the Scientific Study of Religion will hold its fall meeting at Harvard University on November 1. Social scientists who would like to present papers on empirical studies in any phase of the social or social-psychological functions of religion are invited to send them, or three hundred-word abstracts of proposed papers, to Theodore W. Sprague, 13 Follen Street, Cambridge 38, Massachusetts, before August 30.

The Society for the Scientific Study of Sex. The first annual meeting will be held on November 8, 1958 at the Barbizon-Plaza Hotel in New York City. For details write Robert V. Sherwin, 1 East 42 Street, New York 17, N. Y.

U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Robert F. Bales, Associate Professor of Social Relations at Harvard University, has been designated as one of the members of a six-member panel of non-Government experts to provide consultation to the National Institute of Mental Health. In addition to their review of the Institute's mental health research program, the new counselling body will provide the Director of the Institute with objective viewpoints on the long-range perspective of intramural research.

World Health Organization. Announcement is made of the publication of the *International Classification of Diseases*, Seventh Revision, in two volumes. The new edition will be used in the United States and by other member nations of the World Health Organization over the next ten years to classify causes of morbidity and mortality. The Public Health Conference on Records and Statistics is consolidating purchase orders in the United States for agencies and individuals. For further information, address that organization % Department of Health, Education, and Welfare—NOVS, Washington 25, D. C.

Bowdoin College. Leighton van Nort has been appointed Acting Chairman of the Department of Sociology during the absence of Burton W. Taylor, who is on sabbatical leave of absence.

University of California, Berkeley. Talcott Parsons, currently a Fellow at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, is

giving a graduate seminar in social theory which deals with approaches to the study of complex social systems.

Columbia University. Paul Lazarsfeld, Professor of Sociology, attended a conference in January on the sociology of communications at the Sorbonne, University of Paris, sponsored by the French Institute of Public Opinion. Following the conference, he spent ten days in both Vienna and Warsaw, on a grant from the Ford Foundation "to encourage interest in social sciences."

Florida Southern College. John E. Owen, Chairman of the Department of Sociology, has been granted a leave of absence for 1958-1959 in order to accept a Fulbright lecturing award to the University of Dacca, Pakistan. Mrs. Garnet Owen, Assistant Professor, will be engaged in research and writing in Pakistan.

Macalester College. Paul Berry, Chairman of the Department, is on sabbatical leave this year, studying at the University of Southern California. Paul Gustafson is teaching one-quarter time during the second semester while continuing his post-graduate studies at the University of Minnesota. Seymour Leventman and Judy Leventman, of the University of Minnesota, have joined the Department for the year.

University of Michigan, Survey Research Center. The annual summer institute in Survey Research Techniques will be held from July 21 to August 17, with introductory courses offered from June 23 to July 19. For further information write: Survey Research Center, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

New York University. Paul W. Tappan, Professor of Sociology and Law, who is on sabbatical leave for the academic year 1957-1958, will be Fulbright lecturer at the University of Melbourne School of Criminology for two academic terms, beginning in March. From August 25-31 he will be reporter general at the Fifth International Congress of the International Society of Social Defense at Stockholm. Under a research grant from the American Philosophical Society he will also conduct research relating to the administrative treatment of juvenile delinquency. Tappan will resume teaching at New York University and work on the Model Penal Code project of the American Law Institute at the end of September.

University of North Carolina. A seminar, "Interpretations of Religion in Sociological Theory," sponsored by the Danforth Foundation for college teachers of sociology, anthropology, and social psychology, will be held from July 20 to August 2. The Chairman will be Arnold S. Nash, Professor of the History of Religion and a member of the Graduate Faculty in Sociology in the University of North Carolina; the faculty will include Howard Becker of the University of Wisconsin, Will Herberg of Drew University, and William Kolb of Tulane University.

The Ohio State University. A Summer Program on Africa will be held from June 19 to July

23, 1958, which is intended primarily for non-specialists—such as students, teachers, journalists, community leaders and all those interested in public affairs. Further information may be obtained from Committee on the African Summer Program, 211 University Hall, The Ohio State University, Columbus 10, Ohio.

Activities of members of the Department of Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology include the following: A. R. Mangus, Professor, is currently dividing his time between the Department of Sociology and Anthropology and this department. He spent the summer of 1957 as Visiting Professor of Family Sociology, University of Southern California. Everett M. Rogers, Assistant Professor, has joined the staff after receiving his Ph.D. degree from Iowa State College. Together with Wade H. Andrews and Harold R. Capener, Rogers is engaged in a research study of the communication of agricultural technology. Robert M. Dimit, Associate Professor, is directing a study of membership relations in a major farm organization in Ohio, in addition to his duties as Extension Specialist. Wade H. Andrews was appointed Associate Professor of Rural Sociology effective July 1, 1957. Andrews, Rogers, Capener, and Ward Bauder (of the Agricultural Marketing Service) are collaborating on a study of the impact of industrialization on rural areas of Ohio. Andrews, Saad Nagi, Instructor, and Raymond Klingel, Research Assistant, are conducting a study of out-migration from a metropolitan center to the surrounding rural areas in Franklin County. A project has been developed with funds provided by the Ohio Heart Association, directed by Andrews and Nagi, to study adjustments of family members when farm operators are stricken by heart disease. Merton D. Oyler, Professor, is engaged in a study of modernizing influences upon the Amish in Ohio. Oyler recently returned from a six-month leave of absence in England where he studied fringe communities. Harold R. Capener, Associate Professor, left for India in March for a two year assignment on the Ohio-India project concerning community development.

University of Pittsburgh. David Henderson has been appointed Assistant Dean of the College. He is continuing to serve as Chairman of the Sociology Faculty Committee. Harold A. Phelps will retire in June. A book for children, *Thorntree Meadows*, written and illustrated by Roger Nett, has just been published. Howard Rowland attended a research seminar held at Ohio State University last December, concerned with educational broadcasting. This research, sponsored by the National Association of Educational Broadcasters, is financed by the W. K. Kellogg Foundation.

San Jose State College. In 1958/59 the Department of Sociology and Social Work will admit graduate students working toward the master's degree in sociology.

Syracuse University. The Division of Summer Sessions will offer from June 30-August 8 an Asian

Studies program on Japan, China, India and Southeast Asia. Douglas G. Haring, Chairman of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology and Coordinator of Asian Studies, has announced that a number of scholarships covering tuition will be made available to students through the three sponsoring organizations of this Program, the Japan and Asia Societies and the Asia Foundation.

The State College of Washington. William Elmendorf is Guest Lecturer in Anthropology for the year 1957-58. Prodipto Roy, Ph.D., Pennsylvania State University, has joined the Department of Rural Sociology as Assistant Rural Sociologist. Vernon Davies and Milton Maxwell have been promoted to the rank of Professor of Sociology, and F. Ivan Nye to the rank of Associate Professor.

The Department has received an additional grant from the Fund for the Advancement of Education to continue research on the effectiveness of teaching Introductory Sociology. Davies, Edward Gross and James F. Short are the participants in the study. Nye has received a third grant from the College Committee on Research for a continuing study of parent-child relationships. The Department has also received a grant from the state for the study of the social implications of alcoholism. Short, Maxwell, Wallis Beaseley, and Joel B. Montague are participating in the study. Montague has recently returned from a sabbatical leave of absence spent in research on social stratification in Tewkesbury, England. Maxwell is currently on a sabbatical leave of absence at the Yale Center of Alcoholic Studies.

John D. Lillywhite has returned from a leave of absence during which he served on the State Board of Prison Terms and Parole. John B. Edlefsen returned to the Department after three years in Pakistan as a member of the Washington State College Inter-college Exchange Party. Edlefsen's principal assignment was the establishment of a teaching and research program in sociology at the University of Panjab, Lahore, West Pakistan. Norman Scotch is on leave of absence in South Africa, where he is carrying on research supported by the U. S. Public Health Department. Allan Smith was a representative of the National Science Foundation at the Pacific Science Association meetings in Bangkok.

Western Reserve University. Richard A. Schermerhorn, Associate Professor of Sociology, has been appointed lecturer to the Salzburg Seminar in American Studies which convenes from August 24 to September 20.

The University has announced that a research oriented workshop on "Intergroup Relations" for social science majors, social workers, and workers in related fields will be offered from June 16 to July 26. It will be directed by Marvin B. Sussman, John B. Turner, and Eleanor K. Caplan. Some part and full-tuition scholarships are available, donated by the National Conference of Christians and Jews. Address inquiries to: Hollace G. Roberts, Director of Admissions, Western Reserve University, Cleveland 6, Ohio.

BOOK REVIEWS

America As a Civilization: Life and Thought in the United States Today. By MAX LERNER. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1957. xiii, 1036 pp. \$10.00.

The subject of this book is elusive, but may be located somewhere between *The Rise of American Civilization* and *The Lonely Crowd*. Much of it is comment on recent history or, more often, on books thereon. Our natural resources and our economic, political, and social system, however, are lengthily discussed and American character, art, sex, and foreign policy are not skimped—although at times the distribution of emphasis is odd: for example, fourteen pages on "God and the Churches" and ten pages on jazz. Unlike the Beards or Riesman, Lerner does not report new facts or shed new light on relationships among known facts. He offers journalism distinguished by diligence more than by originality and interpretative power.

Assembled loosely and unselectively, Lerner's ideas are too inchoate and heterogeneous to make coherent the materials piled up with conscientious lack of discrimination. Lerner has consulted nearly all the best authorities, as well as some doubtful ones. Despite (or because of?) this, the subject remains vague and so unreal that one feels as though the author, an American, had never lived in America. He discusses his country as a man might discuss children after an over-conscientious consumption of Spock, Gesell, and myriad newspaper columns has crowded out actual experience. In this respect—and in some others—Lerner's book is as representative (via the pathetic fallacy) as it is undescriptive and unanalytic: many Americans—particularly among the urban middle classes for whom Mr. Lerner usually writes—spend their time not so much in living as in reading about life and in manipulating themselves and their children according to the latest precepts.

Kindness is another characteristic Mr. Lerner shares with his subject. He is hospitable to a fault. He presents every side and appears to be on almost all of them, that is, nowhere. Since he raises so many counterpoints, nearly every point in the end becomes pointless and the reader, half suffocated in the pudding of facts and opinions, has to do what the author did not do, namely, to distill essentials. Usually Lerner's fugues are strung out over pages. But

here is a sample contained in one paragraph (p. 618):

The response of Americans to the aging process is varied. . . . Robert Havighurst . . . believes that "the age period from sixty to seventy-five . . . is actually a good deal happier than the period of adolescence." This does not jibe with my own impressions, nor with what we know about the strong major currents that flow through the life history of the American; yet it is good to have this counteremphasis to balance the prevailing pessimism about this period of American life.

Lerner is characteristically hep on "balancing" things. This metaphor taken from mechanics has no meaning in the contexts in which he uses it except to indicate that Lerner dimly realizes that the views presented are inconsistent. There is no mention of the patent relationship of the change in the status of the old (from revered receptacles of wisdom to old-fashioned nuisances) to (a) the rapid rate of cultural change which makes long experience as much an obstacle as a help to adaptation and (b) the higher proportion of old people in the population. Nor is any other type of explanation given. In place of analysis, a variety of opinions, data, and speculations are strung together to look like it.

The author's eclecticism, too, is a common American trait. But if the resulting intellectual stylelessness is representative of its subject, Mr. Lerner has defeated his major point: that America has a distinctive "civilization." For stylelessness is not a style, but the absence of one. We have not created a distinctive style of furniture, fashion, painting, historiography, thinking, war-making, or producing. Rather, we have contributed to the modern *international* style, adoption of which is a function of the degree of industrial advancement and no more American than it is Australian. Can one read Georg Simmel's analysis of money and urbanism, which is based on observations in Germany, without realizing, as Simmel did, that he was describing an international phenomenon, no more German than American?

Of course, we have distinctive folkways, social structures, and so forth. But this not what Lerner means, if I understand him. Justifying his view of America as a "Civilization," Lerner explains (p. 60): "When a culture— which is the set of blueprints for a society—

has grown highly complex and has cut a wide swath in history and in the minds of men, one looks for a term more highly charged with the overtones of these meanings. 'Civilization' is such a term." The idea here seems as vague as the syntax. Elsewhere, however, (p. 59) Lerner says: "America is . . . one of the great distinctive civilizations of history . . . ranking with Greece and Rome." And "the great themes of the Renaissance and Reformation are fulfilled in the American archetypal modern man" (p. 63). Quite a trick. Who is the archetypal American Renaissance-Reformation man? President Eisenhower? Dr. Lerner? Elvis Presley? Edward R. Murrow? Mrs. Roosevelt? Liberace? Henry Ford, II? Norman Vincent Peale? I find no Renaissance or Reformation types—not to speak of the combination which is hard even to imagine. Do we really have an amoral individualistic elite audaciously bent on perpetuating itself through arms, art, splendor, power, nobility, and glory? My impression had been that the themes of security, comfort, morality, popularity, equality, gregariousness, and utility prevail.

Lerner is eager to prove that America is a success. This eagerness—again quite representative—must have prompted the insistence on America as a distinctive civilization. For Lerner finds it hard to praise our real achievements unrestrictedly—after all, no liberal likes being caught praising American free enterprise, generosity, and other old-fashioned virtues. Hence, instead of extolling our magnificent economic and social achievements, purchased as they are at a high cultural cost, Lerner paradoxically praises our cultural and criticizes our socio-economic achievement—though, of course, in his usual balanced way. In this he continues liberal folklore, but cannot avoid major errors.

The impression left by Lerner's discussion of income and property is that though perhaps the distribution has not become more unequal, it also is not more equal than it was. In this connection, Lerner compares the profits of today's corporations with those of wealthy individuals in the past and thereupon finds concentration of income! And though corporations are getting bigger they are perhaps balanced by unions. There is no direct mention of the fact that the government acts as senior partner in all corporations, getting fifty per cent of the profits. I cannot recall any discussion of taxes: indeed, it would be hard to explain progressive income taxes while insisting that the poor are powerless (p. 298)—unless Mr. Lerner wishes to credit the generosity of the rich—which is unlikely as regards motivation

and false in fact. Recent studies, by Kuznets and others, have shown that the income of the lowest income group rose nearly five times as much as that of the highest—and the trend was analogous throughout the income distribution structure. Mr. Lerner has a right to disagree with the findings of these respected economists which have been quite widely publicized and have become part of some elementary textbooks. He does not appear to be aware of these studies, a circumstance which this reviewer finds regrettable. Similarly, Mr. Lerner wonders at some length whether upward vertical mobility has diminished. The impression given is that it probably has. Again, there is no mention of the work of Lipset and Rogoff on these questions. Mr. Lerner has every right to disagree with Rogoff and the many others who have thrown doubt on the ideas in vogue among liberals between 1920–50. But can he simply ignore their data?

I think Mr. Lerner is honest: he misleads his readers no more than himself. But he misleads both too much.

ERNEST VAN DEN HAAG

*New York University and
The New School for Social Research*

Chinese Thought and Institutions. Edited by JOHN K. FAIRBANK. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957. xiii, 438 pp. \$8.50.

The contributors and the editor, all but one of them historians, have done a remarkable piece of work in describing and analysing certain salient features of Chinese thought as they are related to, and revealed in, Chinese institutions.

There are twelve papers (in addition to two introductory pieces, one by the editor and one by Benjamin Schwartz) grouped into two parts. Part I is entitled "The Role of Ideas in the Exercise of State Power," and Part II "Thought and Officialdom in the Social Order." Wolfram Eberhard shows that Chinese astronomy was primarily political in function and interest. Arthur Wright explains how Taoism, Confucianism, and Buddhism were used as ideological tools to further state power by one of the shortest of Chinese dynasties (Sui). The three papers by James T. C. Liu, Charles O. Hucker, and W. T. deBarry are concerned with the relationship between Confucian thought and the imperial power, and how both affected the conduct of the officials as a group.

A paper by the editor, introducing the term "synarchy" to denote joint administration of the country under foreign dynasties of conquest, compares and contrasts historical ex-

amples with modern happenings under Western impact, and finds some outstanding differences which distinguish the latter situation. This completes Part I of the book.

Part II begins with T. T. Chu's paper which describes the ideology behind the class structure of the feudal period. E. A. Kracke, Jr. examines the shifting relationship between the examination system as an ideal channel for civil service appointments, and the probable extent to which the actual practices differed from it. C. K. Yang analyzes the relationship between Confucianism and Chinese religions. L. S. Yang traces the forms and uses of pre-Confucian concept of "return" (Pao) in the social order of China through periods in which Confucian philosophy dominated. The next paper is by Hellmut Wilhelm who sees the rhyme-prose (Fu) as an avenue of the scholar-official's indirect criticism of the central political power or as a release for his frustration. The last paper in the symposium is Joseph R. Levenson's attempt to relate theories of Chinese painting to the mental outlook of the scholar-officials.

The papers exemplify, as a whole, a high degree of scholarly accuracy and thoroughness. The editor is to be complimented both for the chapter he contributed and for his ability to gather together a group of scholars and make them produce this excellent work.

Inasmuch as the editor states in his introductory chapter that the methodology of the symposium included some interdisciplinary effort, the value of the results should naturally be judged not only in terms of traditional historical research but also in terms of the degree to which they contribute in the newer direction. The interdisciplinary methodology employed is best explained in the words of Fairbank:

In methodology our chief effort was to make available, to our conference members, the informed criticism of a social scientist from outside the field of Chinese studies. We assumed that, no matter how much one may try to induce a miscegenation of disciplines, the actual formation of ideas must still occur in an individual mind (p. 3).

The social scientist in question was Dr. Herbert Goldhamer of the RAND Corporation who acted as consultant to the participants before and during the conference which resulted in the present symposium. This is a new twist in interdisciplinary research. The usual set-up is for scholars representing different disciplines to get together and proceed to talk past one another; the end result is

often a series of soliloquies or a scarcely-veiled feud.

Fairbank's experiment is noteworthy in that it provides us with another possibility. By using one member of another discipline only as consultant, each contributor to this volume has benefited without diminishing the coherence of his own discipline. But the results inevitably suffer from the fact that the historian has shown very little tendency to have yielded to or benefited by this attempt at a broader approach. One aspect of the limitation is to be found in a statement by Benjamin Schwartz:

In the end, however, we must admit that a study of China's intellectual history in the twentieth century will concern itself mainly with those who have left written testimony (p. 29).

If the historian is only concerned with ideas as such, out of their social-economic-cultural contexts, then this approach is legitimate. But when his aim is to see the relationship between ideas and the social order, especially as they apply to the contemporary scene, then such an approach is unnecessarily restricting.

Evidence of the effect of such a restricted methodology is perhaps to be found in the fact that, as Fairbank points out in his introductory chapter, "... the present contributors, invited to prepare papers on The Relationship of Ideas and Institutions in China, have produced these studies which center around the role of ideas in Chinese *political* life" (p. 13). The editor explains this occurrence:

The fact that the social order was to be maintained not merely by law or by force but primarily by the personal conduct of the ruler and of his officials, exemplifying traditional Confucian ideals, had the effect, I suggest, of exacerbating their political mindedness (p. 12).

The reviewer thinks that an alternative explanation is possible. Since the Chinese scholars were by and large students of Confucianist classics and seekers of government office, and since they were the ones who left most of the "written testimonies" through the centuries, is it suprising that a group of historians, caring very little about other approaches and relying solely on those who left "written testimony," should come up with papers on "the role of ideas in Chinese *political* life" and on little else?

The book deserves serious attention not only by Sinologists but by all students of comparative cultures and institutions.

FRANCIS L. K. HSU

Northwestern University

The Administrative State: An Introduction to Bureaucracy. By FRITZ MORSTEIN MARX. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957. vii, 202 pp. \$4.00.

Any attempt to compare social institutions in other than a superficial way is rare enough to have an inherent scarcity value. For this reason alone Professor Morstein Marx's book on civil service bureaucracy is welcome. At the same time comparison in social science is also a hazardous undertaking because of the strict procedure which such a method entails. Comparison is the handmaid of controlled generalization: it presupposes a fairly explicitly defined problem and, in turn, a fairly clear-cut set of concepts and relationships to be submitted to empirical test. Above all, it requires the demarcation of constant and variable elements and their differentiation into some kind of usable typology. Comparative studies which lack such a skeleton may suffer from two afflictions: either they become a juxtaposition of "interesting" facts about the subject, or they give rise to a bewildering succession of loosely related empirical generalizations. The shortcomings of the present book are definitely due to too much generalization rather than a lack of it. At the end of the book the reader is suffering from acute indigestion, and it is little relief to be told in the last chapter that "the conclusions are woven into the discussion." They are indeed so tightly woven that it is often difficult to distinguish warp from weft much less to see the pattern of the cloth.

This is not to say that the reader who is prepared to put in some hard work cannot discover much that is useful and stimulating. Despite its lack of overall unity, the several problems with which the book deals are important ones, and the author handles them with the sure touch of one who has had first-hand experience of what he writes about. How far do modern administrative systems usurp power under a system of popular rule? Under what conditions does bureaucracy function most effectively? What is the proper relationship of the bureaucrat to the politician? Drawing on the experience of five industrial and democratic states—the United States, England, France, Germany, and Switzerland—a detailed analysis is made of the variations in civil service institutions, and more particularly, since "great differences arise among administrative systems from differences in the composition of [the] top cadre of career men," of the patterns of recruitment, training, and control of the higher civil service. Of the four major types of civil service administration—

the guardian, caste, patronage, and merit bureaucracies—the latter is best capable of meeting the demands on administration in contemporary society. But these demands are highly exacting. Not only must the bureaucracy achieve a high degree of rationality and competency in its functioning, it must also give impartial service to successive duly elected governments, and must not lose sight of the general public implications of the policies that it is administering. The discussion of the varying institutional means by which these goals are achieved forms the heart of the book. The legal and traditional safeguards of civil service status, selection procedures and rules of conduct, the protection of the citizen against the bureaucracy, the political activities of civil servants, all pass under review. The reassuring impression left with the reader is that the merit bureaucracy is, on the whole, not a dangerous animal; at any rate, it is safely behind bars. On the contrary, the emphasis of the book seems to be on the vulnerability of the civil service to attacks on its status from without, and on the subversion of its effective functioning by its own internally generated disorders.

The sociologist, faced with such a comparative study, might well wish that its insights and generalizations had been more tightly integrated with existing sociological theory on bureaucracy. The editor in his introduction claims that, "sociologists, for their part, like to seek generalities that emphasize 'structure' and 'role' at a very high (and sometimes vague) level of abstraction." But I think that a survey of recent work in this field would demonstrate the unfairness of this proposition. Most sociological studies, and this is partly borne out by the appended bibliography of the present book, have been concerned with concrete organizations and have striven toward "middle-range" theories. It is true that the analysis of civil service bureaucracy poses problems which are to some extent different from those involved in the study of trade union, political party, and industrial bureaucracies. At the same time, and especially in the study of internal organization, there is scope for setting such particular investigations as the present one in a wider framework of inquiry to the benefit of both enterprises. To take just one example, surely what the author has to say about the "Bureaucratic World" would have been enhanced by relating it to Barnard's propositions on the function and pathology of status systems in formal organizations.

But to end on such a critical note would be churlish. By comparison with much that has

been written about the menace of the *Beamtenstaat* Professor Marx's account is undogmatic, balanced, and knowledgeable, and therefore necessary reading for anyone who is interested in the working of modern bureaucracy.

DAVID LOCKWOOD

London School of Economics

Soviet Education for Science and Technology.

By ALEXANDER G. KOROL. Foreword by MAX F. MILLIKAN. New York: The Technology Press of Massachusetts Institute of Technology and John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1957. xxv, 513 pp. \$8.50.

Education in the USSR. By DIVISION OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION, INTERNATIONAL EDUCATIONAL RELATIONS BRANCH, OFFICE OF EDUCATION, U. S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE. Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1957. xiv, 226 pp. \$1.25, paper.

Soviet Education. Edited by GEORGE L. KLINE. Foreword by GEORGE S. COUNTS. New York: Columbia University Press, 1957. xi, 192 pp. \$3.50.

It would be pleasant, indeed, if one could discuss these three books simply as materials in the study of comparative educational institutions—as if they dealt with, say, schooling in the later Roman Empire. There is much in them that is of intrinsic interest to the educator, the sociologist of education, and anyone who earns his livelihood by teaching. For example, in the book edited by Professor Kline, which is composed of reminiscences by eight Soviet emigres on their experiences as students and teachers in the period up to World War II, there is a good deal of information on the disastrous consequences of the succession of pedagogical experiments undertaken by the Soviet regime between 1917 and the middle 1930s. Both Mr. Korol's book and the Office of Education report tell us much about working conditions in the teaching profession: Soviet elementary—and secondary-school teachers, even in special subjects, follow their classes as they advance through the grades; final decision in the hiring of faculty members of higher educational institutions rests with the Ministry of Higher Education; there is no tenure, but (since 1953) all teaching positions in the Soviet equivalents of colleges and universities are formally opened to competition every five years; the Soviet professor's salary is much higher, relative to the salaries of teachers in the lower schools and of manual workers, than is the case in this country. (Mr. Korol rather exaggerates the spread of salaries within

faculty ranks, which actually appears to be not very different from what it is here.) I would say that the Office of Education report contains more information of the sort which the professional educator might want (for instance, on special schools) but that, otherwise, Mr. Korol's book is more thorough and better documented (though reference is made regrettably often simply to "translations" done by MIT's Center for International Studies). DeWitt's *Soviet Professional Manpower*, while as inexpensive as the Office of Education report, is still qualitatively superior to both of these books.

But a discussion in these terms would be, even for the pages of a sociological journal, too academic. For we have now realized that an educational system is not simply a means of developing individual capacities, or a mechanism for socialization or for the occupational training and social-class sorting of a population. It is also a potential weapon in the struggle for national survival. It is our mortal fear rather than our intellectual curiosity which explains this outpouring of books on Soviet education. We seek in them the answers to two burning questions: Is it wise to adopt, as a national policy, the assumption that increasing education will ultimately disintegrate the fabric of Soviet society? And how does the quantitative and qualitative effectiveness of the Soviet schools compare with that of our own? The objective is more than a scientific one, though it is to be hoped that the tools of social science can help in the search.

"Soviet educational gains in science and technology," writes Mr. Korol, "... imply a growing capacity of the Soviet people for political and economic changes which could destroy Soviet communism" (p. 415). But the evidence he and the other authors present does not substantiate even this cautious conclusion. Only a few pages earlier, he himself makes the distinction between training—the acquisition of vocational skills—and education—the development of the capacity to think—and properly warns us against making "an illogical transition from the one to the other" (p. 407). Despite recent signs to the contrary, the Soviet educational system has succeeded remarkably well in separating social thought from logic. Aside from the grotesque and inane content of his courses in "social science," which the Soviet student does perceive, both the social context of the educational system and the methods of teaching within it discourage him from transferring the approach of the physical sciences to the social and political world in which he lives.

The emigre authors provide mute and explicit testimony to these facts. Although they all devote a great deal of attention to the political attitudes of Soviet students, not once does any

of them mention the impact of education *per se* on these attitudes. Their estimates of student political dispositions in the late 1930s range from "neutral" to "deeply anti-Bolshevik," but the experiences to which they attribute the generation of these sentiments are those available, at first hand or through general knowledge, to any Soviet citizen: the low standard of living, the collectivization campaign, the terroristic system of rule. Furthermore, they agree unanimously that Soviet students, whatever their inner political thoughts, were emphatically disinclined to do anything about them. The students were more concerned, we are told by H. G. Friese in a typical statement, with problems of money, clothes, and theater tickets than with how "to change the social system which created these problems . . . they thought more about ways of avoiding the taint of political deviation than of protesting against political repression as such" (p. 59). As often when one studies the Soviet social system close up, one is struck more by its similarities to our own than by the differences.

In the evaluation of the more strictly academic merits of the two educational systems, the concern, of course, is primarily with the quantity and quality of technical and scientific training, and, in general, with the utilization of intellectual ability. Mr. Korol's unique contribution to the study of this question was to call upon the MIT faculty and the specialists of the Educational Testing Service for comparisons of several Soviet curricula, course programs, and examinations with approximate American equivalents. Thus, one finding was that the Soviet secondary school "graduation" examination in algebra is about as comprehensive and as difficult as the College Board Advanced Mathematics Examination. Mr. Korol then proceeds to stress that *every one* of the 1,300,000 Soviet secondary school graduates (1956) was, therefore, apparently "exposed to" the same amount of algebra as the 150,000 American high school graduates who "take mathematics at the level on which this College Board test is based" (p. 97).

But there are numerous hitches in a comparison of this kind, only some of which are taken account of by Mr. Korol. One that he fails to mention is that there is no way of knowing how many Soviet youths actually get all the mathematics courses they are supposed to have. Mr. Korol presents evidence, for example, that although every Soviet secondary school student is required to study a foreign language, some schools in fact offer no foreign-language instruction. Most important, as Mr. Korol does point out, we know only the questions asked on the Soviet examination and not

the answers received. He gives us good reason to believe that the Soviet student can and does rely on rote memorization, whereas the AME is designed to measure a student's understanding of the subject and his ability to make fresh applications of his knowledge. In any case, we know nothing of the means and distributions of the Soviet scores. Unfortunately, the emigres are of no help in this matter; they are strangely silent about the intellectual capabilities of Soviet students. Finally, it is worth mentioning that only the Office of Education report makes any reference to special programs for the gifted, and this reference indicates that such programs are uncommon and *ad hoc*. This is probably a consequence of the pressure for uniformity in the Soviet school system, emphasized as one of its major characteristics in all of the books under discussion.

Then, too, there are broader trends and issues to be considered. Soviet education has been undergoing a number of changes in the last five years. The most far-reaching of these has been the advance toward mass secondary schooling. Mr. Korol quite rightly holds that "the Soviet Union . . . stands today in this respect where the United States was approximately 35 years ago" (p. 26). There is a kind of grim and melancholy relief, as well as a scientific interest, in discovering that the effects are in the same direction that they have been here: an adjustment of the secondary school curriculum toward a lower common denominator. The number and scope of examinations has been greatly reduced; the legal maximum number of hours of required homework has been cut; the proportion of classroom hours devoted to languages and "social sciences," and even to biology and mathematics, has been lowered in favor of manual training and shop work, and there has been a renewed campaign for "polytechnical" education, which seems to mean, in effect, giving the pupil an occupationally useful skill instead of a lot of "theory." Higher education is still rigorously selective—in sharp contrast to the American situation, the number of admissions to Soviet post-secondary institutions has remained between 200,000 and 300,000 a year since 1950, with no stable trend either upward or downward—but a decline in the quality of secondary education is bound sooner or later to have its repercussions. A concomitant trend, though originating in other forces, has been a mounting attack on the high income of the Soviet professor; he is being charged with the equivalent of never having met a payroll.

If we step outside the classroom to evaluate the functional effectiveness of the two systems, other facts become clear. On all but the last

pages of his book, Mr. Korol is given to viewing the American schools with alarm, in particular their relative deficiencies in science instruction. Yet his anxiety may be misdirected. What country, after all, is our technological peer? Where can one find more powerful cars, slimmer television sets, or niftier lawnmowers, with six interchangeable attachments? Could not the same training that has given us hi-fi records and long-distance dialing have given us an ICBM? If our future population includes more and better engineers, will they construct bigger satellites or cheaper backyard swimming pools? It appears, in short, that it is not our technological means that have left us in the lurch, but our economic and political ends. We paid our \$300 billion or so, and we took our choice. If our schools are at fault, it is because, in response to public demand, they slighted not algebra and electronics so much as philosophy, history, and perhaps even sociology.

ROBERT A. FELDMESSER

Brandeis University

Soldiers and Scholars: Military Education and National Policy. By JOHN W. MASLAND and LAURENCE I. RADWAY. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957. xx, 530 pp. \$7.50.

Many of the functions which the military profession performs in modern society are non-military in nature. According to the official classification system, all U. S. Air Force jobs fall into one of twenty-one different major occupational fields, only one of which is called "combat and operations." Of the highest ranking officers only a minority—about one-third in each service—serves with operating units in the field. And for each general or flag officer assigned to other duties there are about twenty-five officers of lower rank (from major to colonel) performing similar "non-military" functions. This proliferation of military tasks reflects both the complexity of modern society and the interdependence of its civilian and military sectors.

The authors of the present book have been especially intrigued by the growing participation of military personnel in the formulation and execution of national security policies and programs both at the seat of government and abroad. They regard this development as an inevitable consequence of America's new position in the world and observe that it is likely to have important effects on the social and political order of American life. Their concern is not with this much-neglected sociological problem, however, but with the simpler question as to how the services prepare their officers for high-level policy roles.

The political education of military officers is primarily the task of the senior joint and service colleges, i.e. the National War College, the Industrial College of the Armed Forces, and the Army, Navy, and Air War Colleges, but the authors have wisely extended their study to cover military undergraduate and intermediate instruction. They examine in great detail the mission, organization, curriculum, and system of instruction at the service academies and at the command and staff colleges as well as at the senior colleges. Generally speaking, the academies are the repositories of service ethos. The command and staff colleges prepare selected officers for leadership in combat operations, and only the senior colleges are especially designed to facilitate the development of generalists out of specialists.

A few selected observations of the authors follow. The work in the social sciences is as rich in content at the academies as are the corresponding courses in civilian colleges. In general, midshipmen and cadets do significantly better than the average college freshmen on the graduate record examination. The system of choosing applicants to the academies is "intolerable." The Defense Department has an obligation to press for legislation that will require Congressmen to nominate a much larger number of men "without designating principal and alternates." Instruction at the Industrial College is biased in favor of industrial management; organized labor is not represented on the Board of Advisors and virtually absent from the roster of visiting lecturers. The influence of Congress on military education is altogether negative since Congressmen are interested more in the location and architecture of the colleges than in their educational programs. At the senior colleges students are not given enough time to think. Only at the Air War College are they expected to read books in their entirety (instead of selected passages). While instruction at the senior colleges in the field of national security and policy is unique in the American educational system—in consequence of the extraordinarily high qualifications of the men who serve as visiting lecturers—the work of the students suffers from superficiality, because the program covers a very wide field. More serious than this shortcoming, however, is the fact that each service college tends to favor the special strategic outlook that prevails in the given service. For example, the Army War College, like the Army itself, has a deeper interest in problems of limited war than does the Air War College. Only a truly joint college could overcome such reflections of service bias in the system of higher military education. The administrative

structure of the joint senior colleges, however, does not really promote the correction of that bias, since the Joint Chiefs, who are responsible for supervision of these colleges, "follow rather than lead the services with respect to military education."

The authors have written the most thorough critical account of military education in the United States that can be found in the literature. Their critical observations are based upon careful study of the facts and reflect a deep concern about the need for political education of our military leaders. Unfortunately, the merits of the book are somewhat obscured by tiresome detail. The book would be better if it were half as long as it is. There are pages and pages of quotations from official statements of mission and from various curricula, while relatively little use has been made by the authors of the several hundred interviews which they conducted with former and present students, faculty members, and administrative officers, and of the questionnaire which more than 500 persons in the Pentagon filled out for them.

HANS SPEIER

The RAND Corporation

The Student-Physician: Introductory Studies in the Sociology of Medical Education. Edited by ROBERT K. MERTON, GEORGE READER and PATRICIA KENDALL. Cambridge: For the Commonwealth Fund by Harvard University Press, 1957. xii, 360 pp. \$5.00.

This volume presents the first fruits of the Bureau of Applied Social Research studies of medical education. It is an introduction to their research rather than a definitive statement. The editors believe that "Until investigation has resulted in serried ranks of special monographs on distinct problems in this field, it would be premature to attempt even a limited synthesis of what is currently known."

Merton's introductory essay places medical education in an institutional and historical context, then describes the advances in sociology and medicine which led to current research in the field, and concludes with a discussion (apparently aimed more at physicians than sociologists) of the distinctive concepts and questions social scientists would bring to such studies. Reader gives an account of certain curricular changes at Cornell Medical School and explains how this research began by studying their effects. Both essays include descriptions of the methods used.

I can only summarize briefly the eight research reports which make up the rest of the book. Rogoff shows relations between an early

choice of medicine as a career, characteristics of the students' families, and satisfaction with the career choice. Thielens compares law with medical students, finding differences in the time of choice of profession, in the degree to which they pick professional role models and seem satisfied with their prospective careers, and in the degree to which they report "competition" in undergraduate school and anticipate it in professional school. Kendall and Selvin find that medical students are more likely to say they want a specialized than a rotating internship the farther along they are in school, discuss some possible reasons for this, and show the differences between these preferences and actual internship assignments. Huntington reports that students farther along in school are more likely to say they thought of themselves as doctors in their last contact with patients and finds some other factors that account for variations in this feeling. Martin shows that students who are more confident about their ability to handle medical situations and procedures do not have strong preferences for one kind of patient rather than another; this neutrality seems to be related to ability to handle "uncooperative" patients. Fox, working from interviews, observations, and student diaries (rather than the survey data which form the basis of the previous reports), interprets many student experiences as training for the uncertainties physicians in practice face. Goss describes some changes that took place in the experimental teaching program at Cornell and Olencki gives a rundown of the numbers and types of patients a student in this program would see.

The fragmentary character of these preliminary reports makes any assessment of the overall research premature, and yet these reports cannot really be assessed except as they are seen as part of a larger research effort. So what I have to say now is presented not as criticism but as an indication of questions that readers will look forward to having discussed in subsequent reports.

Such studies as those reported in this volume presuppose some general model of, first of all, the nature of the changes that take place in the medical student as he moves toward graduation and, second, the nature of the social structure which provides the experience producing these changes. But neither kind of model is explicitly presented or discussed in this book and, lacking this, the reader is sometimes hard put to see what the connections are between the various studies. As nearly as one can make out, the basic developmental image is that of "anticipatory socialization": students are seen as gradually acquiring the attitudes which will

enable them to play their professional role properly. This is the first large research to make use of this conception and readers will be interested in discussion of the problems of using this concept with specific empirical materials.

Much modern sociology finds the analysis of instances of conflict and tension particularly rewarding for understanding of social structure and process: conflicts bring to the surface ordinarily unstated assumptions of participants in the situation and throw relationships into high relief. This volume, however, seldom deals with conflict or tension, although medical schools generally exhibit plenty of both. Presumably such matters will be reported on later. To return to the notion of anticipatory socialization, it would be interesting to know the degree to which students acquire attitudes which run counter to the prescriptions for the physician's role, and to find out something about the conflicts in the educational process related to this.

The book also poses some important methodological problems. These have been reviewed elsewhere (see James A. Davis' review in the *American Journal of Sociology*, LXIII (January, 1958), 445-6) and will, I assume, be the subject of continuing debate.

The Student Physician is an interesting appetizer. Readers will look forward to the main dish.

HOWARD S. BECKER

Community Studies, Inc., Kansas City

The Patient and the Mental Hospital. Edited by MILTON GREENBLATT, DANIEL J. LEVINSON and RICHARD H. WILLIAMS. Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1957. 658 pp. \$6.00.

The exigencies of space do not permit one to do justice to this outstanding collection of research contributions by sociologists, anthropologists, psychologists, and psychiatrists to the social problems of the mental hospital. The writings are based, implicitly or explicitly, on the conviction that, in Milton Greenblatt's words, "Most of the mental hospitals of the country have yet to traverse the road from custodial hospital to therapeutic community" (p. 317) and that, as the editors state in the preface, "there has been a growing conviction in recent years that the recovery of the mental hospital patient depends not merely upon specific treatment procedures but, perhaps even more, on the sociopsychological characteristics of the hospital community."

Directly related to this statement of principles is Morris Schwartz's analysis of "What

is a Therapeutic Milieu?" His answer is that the social structure must be democratic, treatment-oriented, humanitarian, and flexible so as to facilitate interaction among personnel and between personnel and patients. Schwartz defines the therapeutic milieu as one "trying to achieve enduring changes in the patient's pattern of interpersonal relations . . ." (p. 131).

The "therapeutic milieu" might well have been chosen as the title or subtitle of the book. Each of the various parts—Mental Hospital Organization (edited by Daniel Levinson), Therapeutic Personnel (edited by Richard Williams), The Ward (edited by Richard Williams), The Patient and the Extra-Hospital World (edited by Milton Greenblatt)—are related to the assumptions (1) that a therapeutic milieu is desirable, (2) that it is dependent upon the relationships between individuals rather than upon rules and regulations, (3) that changes in the structure of mental hospitals are both desirable and feasible.

These assumptions give a basic unity to the book. The unity is further enhanced by the general theoretical orientation to role analysis. This is seen in statistical studies, such as those by Carstairs, Gallagher, Erlich, Gilbert, Heron, Levinson, and Pine (Chapters 3, 11, 20) in which a high correlation is found to exist between humanitarian role definitions and relative absence of authoritarian personality traits, as well as in the qualitative analyses, such as those of Kartus and Schlesinger on "The Psychiatric Hospital Physician and His Patient" and of Caudill on "Social Processes in Collective Disturbances on a Psychiatric Ward." These examples are selected among many to indicate that the various contributions are very well integrated with regard to basic assumptions both in values and in general conceptual framework.

Just as valuable as the unity of the book, however, is the fact that here and there some contributions seem to be at variance with the findings of others. This may stimulate the reader to ask questions and may suggest further research. As an example we may note the carefully constructed study by Levinson *et al.* which shows a high correlation between task performance, as required by the hospital setting, the personnel's ideological support of hospital policy, and their personalities. The findings confirm the authors' expectations "that the achievement of a policy-congruent modal ideology depends in part on the presence of a corresponding modal personality" (p. 21). This would lead one to expect that changes in hospital structure to meet the demands of a therapeutic environment would tend to be hin-

dered by the personality traits of the personnel. However, John and Elaine Cumming (Chapter 4) give a beautiful example of a therapeutically oriented change in structure without mentioning attempts at bringing about changes in the personality of the staff. A similar example is provided by Kraus (Chapter 25) in his description of changes introduced at the Bedford Veterans Hospital where structural changes and more intensive communication between physicians and nursing personnel resulted in greater tolerance of deviant symptomatology and greater acceptance of a wider variety of patient behavior. This raises the psychological problem of "depth of internalization" and the social-psychological problem of the extent to which "personality" is a mode of playing a role, of perceiving the environment and oneself from the vantage point of a specific social structure.

Due to the nature of the subject matter, most of the contributions—perhaps with the exception of the structural analysis by Talcott Parsons of "The Mental Hospital as a Type of Organization"—are characterized by their orientations toward *social-dynamics* rather than *social-statics*. This implies not only a positive valuation of change, but an acceptance of stresses and conflicts. "No change can be produced," says Milton Greenblatt, "without stress, but, on the other hand, repetition of stress tends to encourage a higher level of functioning. The system, as a whole, appears to gain strength through successive trials . . ." (p. 321). Alfred Stanton advocates an institutionalized way of handling the conflicting purposes of mental hospitals through "discussions and critical judgment," for if they are covered up by "the common myth that there can be no conflict," intense outbursts or partial withdrawal may result (p. 329). In accord with this, Caudill found that a collective disturbance in a ward was associated with disagreements among various groups in the hospital which, instead of being faced, led to mutual withdrawal. The equilibrium was re-established when disagreements were turned into conflict behavior at meetings, thereby establishing communication and creating the setting for the eventual resolution of the conflict (Chapter 24).

Findings such as these raise the important question, hitherto dealt with too little in sociology, of the actual meaning of "group integration." For example, Polansky, White, and Miller (Chapter 21) found that, contrary to their expectations, the members of the ward group that manifested strong solidarity "showed a somewhat smaller degree of agreement" about values than did the peripheral and other patients. There was no evidence of effective "pres-

sure toward uniformity" among these "core clique members" (p. 393).

These examples are given here in order to show that the merit of this book is not only to furnish readers a body of knowledge about mental hospitals. Sociologists will profit by it whether their specialized interests lie in medical sociology, theory of organization, small-group processes, or role and structural-functional theory.

ROSE LAUB COSER

Wellesley College

Role Relations in the Mental Health Professions. By ALVIN ZANDER, ARTHUR R. COHEN and EZRA STOTLAND with the collaboration of BERNARD HYMOVITCH and OTTO RIEDL. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, Research Center for Group Dynamics, Institute for Social Research, 1957. vii, 210 pp. No price indicated.

This volume is a study of attitudes held by psychiatrists, clinical psychologists, and psychiatric social workers toward the part they play in the mental health areas when they participate together. The study involves approximately 160 persons drawn from each profession; these people were active in large metropolitan areas and had some opportunity for interaction with the other professions. The study is well designed and readers of this summary report will find that the materials are well organized and presented in an intelligible way. The kinds of information chosen to be gathered in interviews are also indicative of good planning and of the research competence of the authors.

The picture revealed by this volume will not be surprising to persons who are familiar with the area. In general, the three professions are ordered in power as a triangle, with psychiatry at the top. The psychiatrist sees the role of the psychiatric social worker and the clinical psychologist as ancillary, rather than as independent or competitive, but he recognizes to some extent the striving by the psychologist for autonomy. The point of unbalance in the triangle seems to lie with the psychologist. This is suggested by the three professions' different images of one another: 82 per cent of social workers (p. 98) believe that they are equal or superior to psychologists in professional knowledge and skill; 83 per cent of psychologists believe they are equal or superior to social workers (p. 107); but 75 per cent of psychologists feel they are equal or have more competence than psychiatrists (p. 72), while only 50 per cent of social workers feel they are equal to or have more competence than psychiatrists

(p. 46). The attitude areas covered by the study include each group's conception of the amount of power it has to influence the others, acceptance of power positions, the amount of contact with other groups, relative knowledge and skills, and other relatively minor matters.

While this volume represents a good job of exploration, persons interested in role relations will be somewhat disappointed with the presentation. In particular, the first two chapters that present the theoretical setting are naive and sloppy. It is difficult to recognize when the authors are defining a concept, when they are deriving a generalization from assumptions, when they are presenting intuitive generalizations, and when they are stating empirical generalizations based on their study. Thus, one encounters the definition: "In its most general sense, a role is a set of behaviors which an individual is expected to perform" (p. 15). Two paragraphs later we find: "If one knows the title of the role occupied by a given person, it is possible to anticipate the sort of functions the individual will typically perform. This can only be a rough approximation, of course, since different persons within the same profession will do somewhat dissimilar things." One is inclined to ask whether this is definition, derivation, or observation. Readers of the volume may notice other limitations as well. For example, while some attention is given to the differences between female and male psychologists, the question of whether the differences between psychiatric social workers and the other professions are related to sexual rather than professional characteristics is neglected. Similarly, readers may wonder about the sample selection of a metropolitan group and may ask why more attention was not given to the mental hospital setting. Readers may also suspect that some of the attitudes of the psychologist are shared by the authors and creep into the interpretation in subtle ways.

As a commentary on the status of the mental health professions today, this book leaves one with the ironic question of why persons who are presumably qualified to help others to get along better have such pronounced problems among themselves.

EDGAR F. BORGATTA

Russell Sage Foundation

Cultural Foundations of Education: An Interdisciplinary Exploration. By THEODORE BRAMELD. Foreword by CLYDE KLUCKHOHN. New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1957. xxi, 330 pp. \$5.

Cultural Foundations of Education must be counted a worthwhile contribution to culture

theory as well as to applied educational anthropology. In constructing a comprehensive theory of culture for educators, Brameld draws upon the ideas of a great many culture theorists, mainly in anthropology and philosophy, and with this eclectic mass of materials strives for an understandable synthesis in terms of the "three great problems of education and culture," namely, human order, human process, and human goals.

Dedicated educationists will find themselves taking a drubbing throughout the book. The opening sentence is an indication: "If American education is ever to emerge from the confusion and disagreement in which it is now floundering, it will have to admit that it is incapable of doing so under its own steam." Brameld contends that what education needs is an infusion of culture theory, mainly anthropological, that will provide for teachers and for those who train teachers an adequate understanding of the motives and values of human beings, a workable knowledge of the place of education in culture, and a realistic comprehension of the degree to which valid goals of our society can be attained through the teaching process.

Educators, since they are professionally engaged in the activity most directly relevant to cultural continuity, need more than other professional groups to understand what culture is all about; this is Brameld's main overt contention, and one with which most anthropologists might agree. Further, it is easy to infer a point even more fundamental in the author's thesis—one with which most thinking citizens would certainly agree—namely, that since the job of teaching is the crucial one in our society, educators must be given the training to enable them to assume a pre-eminent status as the most highly educated, the most intellectual, the most scholarly professional group in our society. This apparently deviates markedly, in Brameld's view, from current aims of American teacher-training institutions, and his final chapter contains powerful suggestions for remedying the situation.

Aside from the twenty-four page section devoted to a debate about "cultural relativism" and "cultural universalism," in which the two ideas are treated as though they were logically opposed, Brameld wastes few words, and even here—since he merely follows the lead of at least one anthropological theoretician—he might be excused save for the fact that as a professional philosopher he might be presumed to know better. The book in general, however, exhibits scholarship of a high order—so much so that, as intimated above, it seems to have more to say to professional social scientists

than to professional teachers. For, if Brameld's strictures on modern American teacher-training are well-founded, what the professional teacher needs at this point is a book (perhaps grounded on the present one) that will tell him how to get the anthropological knowledge he needs and how to use it in his teaching.

RICHARD A. WATERMAN

Wayne State University

Behavior Goals of General Education in High School. By WILL FRENCH and Associates, New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1957. 247 pp. \$4.00.

This volume is a summary of the expectations which about seventy-five educators and citizens hold for American high schools. The project which produced this statement of goals was undertaken under the joint sponsorship of the Russell Sage Foundation, the National Association of Secondary School Principals, and the Educational Testing Service. Nominees for the committees of consultants, advisors, and reviewers, and for the planning and editorial committee which served in the project, were submitted by the United States Office of Education, the American Association of School Administrators, and the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development. Since not all the contributions of committee members are included a supplementary volume is in preparation. An earlier study of *Elementary School Objectives*, edited by Nolan C. Kearney and published by the Russell Sage Foundation in 1953, was produced in a similar manner and is viewed as a companion volume.

Two basic ground rules provide the framework for this statement of high school goals. First, the committees focused only on general education at the secondary level. They made no attempt to state specific vocational or other goals that would not be common to all high school students. Second, the emphasis is on behaviors which should be expected in the high school graduate. There is practically no indication of the curricula which might go into producing the desired product. Although the latter also needs attention, it seems clear that the nature of the product desired should be identified before programs necessary to produce the desired behavior are developed. Too much contemporary discussion of education in America debates the value of various courses without regard to their effect on the persons to be educated.

The organization of behavioral goals reflects the impact of social science. The "areas of behavioral competence" are: (1) attaining max-

imum intellectual growth and development, (2) becoming culturally oriented and integrated, (3) maintaining and improving physical and mental health, and (4) becoming economically competent. The "directions of growth" involved in achieving maturity are: (1) toward self-realization, (2) toward desirable interpersonal relations in small (face-to-face) groups, and (3) toward membership or leadership in large organizations.

Anyone could find something with which he differed in the extensive list of behavior outcomes. This reviewer is impressed with their comprehensiveness and meaningful organization. This volume will be useful to laymen as well as to educators in any consideration of the common aspects of high school. The final section is a form for evaluating general education programs in terms of the identified behavior outcomes. This will aid groups in examining particular high schools.

Other sociologists, like this reviewer, will sometimes feel that there is an over-separation of the self-realization, or individual, type of behavior and social behavior. At one point, the inseparability of the individual and society is recognized: "We have said that the two purposes of individual development and active citizenship are correlated, but actually may they not be two aspects of the same purpose? The fulfillment of either one rests upon fulfillment of the other" (pp. 30-31). At the same time, they assume that this is not the case for they talk of an antagonism between the self-realization of the organic potential on one hand and societal needs on the other. There is an assumption that this antagonism can only be resolved in a democratic society. Many will see this as an unjustified cultural bias.

Sociologists interested in educational institutions and process, as well as educators and laymen, will be interested in the taxonomy of behavioral outcomes which this group has developed.

WILBUR B. BROOKOVER

Michigan State University

Some Applications of Behavioural Research. Edited by RENSIS LIKERT and SAMUEL P. HAYES, JR. Paris: Unesco, 1957. 333 pp. \$3.25.

This volume consists of reports of six seminars held during the past several years at the Foundation for Research on Human Behavior of the University of Michigan. The several men listed in the table of contents are referred to by the editors both as "authors" of the sections and as "rapporteurs" of the

seminars, and it is not clear which element of this dual function predominated. Two of the seminars, reported by Stanley E. Seashore, dealt with various problems in gauging leadership and training leaders; and a third, reported by Hollis W. Peter, was concerned with the somewhat similar matter of personal correlates of scientific achievement. "Training Foreign Nationals in the United States" was reported by Simon O. Lesser and Hollis W. Peter. A summary of reference-group theory and its applications to marketing and public relations was reported by Francis S. Bourne. Irving Morrisett, finally, reported on a seminar concerning psychological surveys of businessmen and consumers by the Survey Research Center of the University of Michigan and the relation of these surveys to business forecasting. The book thus represents a summary of seminars at the University of Michigan as reported in the main by University of Michigan personnel and dealing very often with the results of research by University of Michigan institutes. The warning in the introduction that only "applications of behavioral research in the United States of America" have been included is, one might say, somewhat misleading.

The Foundation for Research on Human Behavior is made up of both academicians and businessmen, and one of its main purposes is to bridge the usual gap between these two groups. How some of the recurrent differences shall be resolved, however, has apparently not been decided in principle. If Procter & Gamble or International Harvester pay for research, who shall determine what it is to be? In Chapter 1, Professor Likert emphasizes the importance of basic research, but in the final chapter Professor Hayes tells us that in these seminars the major criterion was always the relevance of research to solving immediate problems. "This problem-oriented method of presentation was adopted because the traditional method of first reporting research findings and then developing possible implications often has the result that much of the research reported turns out to be irrelevant." Thus the informed reader will find very little that is new in theory, but some of the applications of old theories to new areas—for instance, the relevance of reference groups to market research—are interesting.

The general framework of the volume, behavioral research, is defined as that dealing "directly with individuals and the study of their behavior." Using such social psychological rather than social data is certainly a legitimate emphasis, but it is unfortunate that little or no attempt was made to integrate this conceptual

framework with the earlier theories of established social sciences. No one can reasonably object, for example, to rounding out the bare figure of Economic Man, as has been done in some of the studies reported by Morrisett, but these new findings on determinants of consumer preferences will be most useful only after they have been related to traditional economic theory. Or, to cite another example, the concept of reference groups is connected with the older theory of social classes only by the one name of Richard Centers, whose work certainly does not represent the totality of relevant sociological research.

It is difficult to explain the choice of this volume for publication by Unesco. However worthwhile they may be in themselves, the research efforts reported here are atypical in several respects and give the foreign reader a distorted view of American social sciences. And that similar "sample surveys can be used in any country" I doubt; polling assumes a population not too fearful to tell the truth, and this is certainly not a universal state.

WILLIAM PETERSEN

University of Colorado

The Dynamics of Planned Change. By RONALD LIPPITT, JEANNE WATSON and BRUCE WESTLEY. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1958. viii, 312 pp. \$4.50.

In this book Lippitt and his associates at the National Training Laboratory in Group Development attempt to analyze the problems arising from that type of change "... that originates in a decision to make a deliberate effort to improve the system and to obtain the help of an outside agent in making this improvement." This exploratory study includes an analysis of change in psychological processes, social relations, interpersonal processes, problem-solving procedures, and social structures; as such it assists in the understanding of such diverse situations of planned change as are met in psychotherapy, industrial management, intergroup relations, and community development.

The authors choose the "change agent" as their focus of analysis by describing his motivations for action, his role in the process of diagnosing the system's internal and external relationship problems, and in the step-by-step procedures of the change process. The change agent may be a social worker, labor relations expert, or community organizer, as found in a wide range of only apparently independent and unrelated disciplines. It is in showing the interrelation and interdependence of the systems, and indeed, the need for even greater

interaction between these groups—all involved in giving help—that the authors make their greatest contributions.

The procedures for change basic to all types of change agents and client systems (the person or group being helped) are described as more complex elaborations of a Rogerian framework. The authors do not, however, relate these dynamics to the kind of structural scheme exemplified in Homans' work. First the client system discovers the need for help—with or without the aid of the change agent. This portion of the book should help clinicians to resolve their conflicts over the role of authority in the change process. Second is an analysis of the relationship between the change agent and the client system as the problem undergoing change is identified. Third, the alternative possibilities for change are explored and goals established, which then lead to real attempts at change. When change is achieved, it must be generalized and stabilized, and the helping relationship is terminated. While the book is repetitious with regard to phases of planned change, it does present a unified framework useful for all systems involved in planned change.

Since the authors have not attempted to test any one set of hypotheses, many more questions are raised than answered; however, many excellent hypotheses are suggested for further research. In this regard, the volume is a gold mine of genuinely thought provoking and stimulating areas for action research. It does not emphasize theory over practice, but brilliantly correlates the two and in so doing contributes to the knowledge of both the principles and practice of planned change. In this analysis, with its commentary on research and professional training, the authors have fulfilled a long-felt need.

RICHARD BROTMAN

The City College of New York

Games and Decisions: Introduction and Critical Survey. By R. DUNCAN LUCE and HOWARD RAIFFA. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1957. xix, 509 pp. \$8.75.

Duncan Luce and Howard Raiffa have, in their survey of game theory, accomplished very admirably the goals they set in their preface:

This book attempts to communicate the central ideas and results of game theory and related decision-making models unencumbered by their technical mathematical details: thus, for example, almost no proofs are included. It is a book about game theory, not a presentation of the

theory itself. By laying bare the main structure of the theory—and its assumptions and conclusions, its deficiencies and aspirations—we hope that the book will serve as a useful critical introduction to the theory and a guide to the literature.

The authors indicate some puzzlement, which I share, as to how intelligible their book will be to otherwise intelligent readers who are innocent of mathematics. In spite of a liberal sprinkling of mathematical symbols throughout the book, they are justified in asserting that their discussion of game theory is basically non-mathematical; but it will perhaps seem so only to readers who possess, if not mathematical training, at least some affinity for abstraction and axiomatic method. As an introduction for an interested but mathematically naive reader, I would suggest, first, John McDonald's popular but generally accurate little book, *Strategy in Poker, Business, and War*; next, John Williams' equally entertaining, but slightly more technical, *The Complete Strategist*. After this the student is ready for Luce and Raiffa. If the latter does not slake his thirst for knowledge about game theory, there is nothing to be done but to take a couple of courses in mathematics and tackle McKinsey, von Neumann and Morgenstern, and the journal literature.

An extremely valuable feature of the Luce and Raiffa volume for persons who already have some knowledge of game theory is its excellent and very complete survey of developments in the field since the publication of von Neumann and Morgenstern's book a decade ago. It is the only place where one can go to study these developments without fighting one's way through numerous highly technical papers in the journals. The survey is of highest quality both in its descriptions of what has been done and in its evaluations.

The authors show that there has been a great deal of progress in game theory and related matters during the decade. The areas in which progress has been made include: (1) the development of modern statistical decision theory, with its emphasis on the loss function, maximin, and the sequential nature of decision; (2) the axiomatization of utility and subjective probability; (3) the exploration of alternatives to the von Neumann-Morgenstern concept of the "solution" of a game for (a) two-person, non-zero-sum games and (b) *n*-person games; (4) the exploration of the relations of game theory with linear programming; (5) the re-examination of welfare theory in economics and political science in the light of the theory of games.

But explorations do not always discover

mountains of gold, and the exploration into games and adjacent realms has not been an unqualified success. It has given us a considerable wealth of beautiful technical results—Arrow's "impossibility theorem," the axiomatization of utility, Nash's work on the bargaining problem, and Shapley's definition of the value of a game, to single out a few. These results, together with detailed discussion and analysis of some simple hypothetical (and often pathological) games have contributed also a great deal of conceptual clarification. But the achievement of a really satisfactory definition of "solution" for non-zero-sum and n-person games seems even farther off now than it did a decade ago, and for reasons that were apparent to an oligopoly theorist like Cournot a century ago. In the absence of such a definition, or definitions, it is today quite unclear whether the theory of games and the associated developments have much that is positive to offer toward the construction of a theory of human economic and social behavior. This assessment of achievement to date is not just the reviewer's, but is shared by the authors in spite of their generally friendly attitude toward game theory. They say (p. 10):

Initially there was a naive band-wagon feeling that game theory solved innumerable problems of sociology and economics, or that, at the least, it made their solution a practical matter of a few years' work. This has not turned out to be the case.

The authors do not offer a satisfactory explanation of why game theory failed to fulfill this initial promise. My own hypothesis is that the theory rests on a fundamentally wrong view of the human decision-making organism and the nature of rational choice. Since I have expressed my views on this point at length elsewhere, I will not climb on the soap box provided me here to expound them.

The authors' forecast for the future of game theory is a little more optimistic than mine (pp. 10-11):

What then is the significance of game theory to the social scientist? First, because there has not been a plethora of applications in a dozen years, it does not follow that the theory will not ultimately be vital in applied problems. Judging by physics, the time scale for the impact of theoretical developments is often measured in decades. Second, although the present form of the theory may not be totally satisfactory—in part, presumably, because of its so-called normative character—this does not mean that abandoning it is the only possible course for a social scientist. Much of the theory is of very general importance, but some revision may be required for fruitful applications. Attention to

the theory is needed, and not attention from the mathematician alone, as is now the case.

I wish to make clear—and in this I agree completely with Luce and Raiffa—that in spite of my basically pessimistic forecast for game theory, it has already had a major and lasting impact on the development of the social sciences. No one who is not thoroughly conversant with the difficulties it has encountered has much chance of removing them, either by the route it proposes or some other. These difficulties lie at the very core of the problem of understanding rational human behavior, and have to be dealt with before that understanding is achieved.

Professors Luce and Raiffa are to be congratulated on producing a book that deals with a challenging and significant problem area at a very high level of competence and in a way—from the standpoint both of exposition and evaluation—that does complete justice to its important subject.

HERBERT A. SIMON

Carnegie Institute of Technology

Religion, Philosophy, and Science: An Introduction to Logical Positivism. By BURNHAM P. BECKWITH. New York: Philosophical Library, 1957. 241 pp. \$3.75.

This book stirs up old memories. It takes one back to the atmosphere of several decades ago when some of the younger and bolder logical positivists were waving the sword of "Meaningless—because Unverifiable!" at the sayings of the poet, religionist, and philosopher. Dr. Beckwith still fights that fight, and with valor and conviction. But in trying to keep it alive today he is forced to so oversimplify matters that the combatants almost become caricatures. Thus religion is considered only insofar as it is based on revelation, and philosophy is considered to be based on pure reasoning alone. Logical positivism is said to require that a word be defined by pointing to what it refers to (or defined in terms of other words that can be so defined). It is not hard to show then that religious and philosophical statements (defined in terms of revelation and pure reason) are meaningless by that criterion of meaning. And a host of good English words also lose their heads in the fray: quality, relation, color, universe, life, art, energy, society, culture, virtue, evil, right, and freedom, among them. Science—statements verified by observations—remains on its feet as the din subsides. And science is to take charge of the human future.

Such revelationists and pure rationalists as remain among us (and in the world at large there are many of them) would be pricked by the book if they would read it. And the mind of a vigorous young scholar does well to face such a vigorous challenge sometime early in his career. But for many of us (and especially those in the academic ranks) the battle has become unreal in the form here portrayed.

The extensive developments which have taken place in the logical positivist view of meaning are largely unmentioned, so that the book is in no sense a faithful introduction to contemporary logical positivism. While present-day science requires a control of its statements by observation, it no longer demands (and, indeed, never did demand) that every term in the scientific edifice refer to something observable, something "capable of causing a sensation" (p. 97). Pure rationalism as a way of knowing the world is almost a dead issue in philosophy. Many developments in current religious thought no longer give revelation a central place, if, indeed, any place at all (see, for instance, Abraham Cronbach's *The Realities of Religion*).

The problem of the nature and relation of philosophy, science, and religion certainly remains with us today, even for those who accept a naturalistic philosophy and an empirical view of "meaning." But the problem in its living form receives little help from Dr. Beckwith's oversimplified formulation. The instruments of battle must be sharper than those he wields.

CHARLES MORRIS

University of Chicago

The Poverty of Historicism. By KARL R. POPPER. Boston: The Beacon Press, 1957. xiv, 166 pp. \$4.00.

The author's "Historical Note" and "Preface" show that this work was written and rewritten several times at different periods, from 1935 to 1957. This, perhaps, explains a number of ambiguities and inconsistencies scattered throughout the book. First of all, the main topic of the book, namely, "historicism," is ambiguous. In several places this term seems to mean a specific system, or school, or current of sociological or social-science thought. Since, however, the author does not indicate the leaders or representatives of such a school (with the exception of a few casual references to Mannheim, Toynbee, Comte, Spencer, and Weber), one cannot identify his "historicism" with any sociological or social science current. In other

places the author describes "historicism" as "an approach to the social sciences which assumes that *historical prediction* is their principal aim, and which assumes that this aim is attainable by discovering the 'rhythm' or the 'pattern,' the 'laws' and the 'trends' that underlie the evolution of history." In this meaning "historicism" is identified not with this or that system of sociological or social science thought, but with *all* theories of historical prediction.

In some form the predictive theories occupy an important place in all sciences: the principle of entropy in physics, the "law of evolution" in biology, indeed, practically all currents of social thought, from the Eschatological or Apocalyptic prophetic predictions to the extreme "Physicalistic" and "Behavioristic," "causal" and "probabilistic" predictions. Since these predictive theories are quite different from, and sometimes even in contradiction with, one another, Popper's "historicism" acquires so encyclopedic a meaning as to become extremely vague and largely meaningless. This ambiguity of Popper's "historicism" is probably responsible for a somewhat "jerky" character of his exposition. Contrary to his claim, even his latest, logical refutation of the impossibility of prediction of the course of history is neither new nor irrefutable.

This is especially true about Dr. Popper's criticism of sociological and social science predictive theories. In regard to these, most of his critical arrows simply miss the target. The main reason for this is possibly the author's poor knowledge of sociological and social science literature. He himself quite frankly states that in 1935, when he made the first outline of this work, he "knew next to nothing about the social sciences." This means that *The Poverty of Historicism* is an immature predecessor of Popper's much more significant work, *The Open Society and Its Enemies*.

However, I do not want to leave an impression that *The Poverty of Historicism* is a poor book. Despite its serious shortcomings, it has several important ideas and can be read with especial profit by the "natural science sociologists" who often do not see the dogmatic character of many of their assumptions and the doubtful nature of many of their methods and theories. Popper's book clearly exposes such assumptions, methods, and theories; in this way he renders a real service to sociology and social science generally.

PITIRIM A. SOROKIN

Harvard University

Veblenism: A New Critique. By LEV E. DOBRIANSKY. Introduction by JAMES BURNHAM. Washington, D. C.: Public Affairs Press, 1957. xii, 409 pp. \$6.00.

The major aims of this rather strange and ambitious book are to give a systematic presentation of Thorstein Veblen's ideas and to provide a general approach to problems bearing on the integration of the social sciences. Dobriansky conceives that the second of these aims cannot be achieved without the aid of a coherent philosophical outlook, and the outlook he favors and expounds at considerable length is that of "the perennial philosophy" of medieval scholasticism. In the earlier portions of the book, the first aim is slighted except for a brief chapter on the man Veblen and incidental references to Veblen's misconceptions and ignorance in the area of "the perennial philosophy." When Dobriansky finally comes to discuss "Veblenism," his concerns are still strongly philosophical. This philosophical preoccupation is sometimes useful in the evaluation of Veblen's thought, but Dobriansky might have been well advised to write another book to exhibit his own learning in scholasticism and his conviction of its paramount value. As matters stand, despite valiant efforts, the exposition of scholastic thought constitutes more than a little of a distraction.

But the author, a professional economist, has allowed himself sufficient space to give a fairly extended consideration of Veblen's more specifically economic notions. Unlike many other critics from the ranks of economics, Dobriansky, in his review of Veblen's strictures on economic science and of Veblen's more positive "institutional" perspectives, discerns in both some very authentic merits as well as that measure of outright foolishness which no conscientious reader of Veblen can miss. Especially valuable in this connection is the clear perception that Veblen in his own fashion was concerned with achieving a form of genuine socio-economic theory, whatever the shortcomings of his final performance on this line. Perhaps as well as anyone has done, Dobriansky frees Veblen of the charge that his institutionalism amounts simply to an historicist bias. "Professor Robbins' assertion that 'the only difference between Institutionalism and Historicism is that Historicism is much more interesting' may have some rhetorical worth, but it suggests little comprehension of the basic difference." Some few pages are devoted to comparing Veblen with Marx, but unfortunately the comparison is not systematically pursued. Again, less expenditure of space on "the perennial philosophy" might have been

advantageous. The consideration given Veblen's significant book on *Imperial Germany* is quite perfunctory. The bearings and implications of Veblen's views on stratification are inadequately handled. On the other hand, there is full and stimulating discussion of important themes in *The Theory of Business Enterprise* and in *Absentee Ownership*, and of much else.

It appears likely that this book will be judged far more in its character as a critique of Veblenian thought than in its character as attempted philosophical integration for the supposed benefit of social science. But the author is not entirely unsuccessful in his effort to show the relevance of philosophical analysis to the estimation of "Veblenism." Given the partial success on this front and the numerous cogent observations on Veblen's social science as such, it seems a pity that the book is on the whole so very badly written. Its reader must endure an inflated and graceless style and a flood of words such as "unmisogymous," "technologization," "theorization," "antithesization," "obediential," "entitative," "pendulumic," and "erumpent."

LOUIS SCHNEIDER

Purdue University

The Trumpet Shall Sound: A Study of 'Cargo' Cults in Melanesia. By PETER WORSLEY. London: MacGibbon and Kee, 1957. 290 pp. 25s.

This book is a valuable addition to the literature on "cargo" cults in Melanesia. Dr. Worsley states that it "is written in the firm belief that anthropology can be interesting to the non-specialist," and he has chosen a subject which is sufficiently bizarre to appeal to a wide audience. But he has done more than provide the reader with graphic descriptions of some strange forms of behavior amongst relatively remote peoples. Using an uncluttered prose, he not only demonstrates, by careful analysis of the socio-cultural setting, the rationality of the cults but also places them within the world-wide context of millenarianism. Perhaps the specialist will feel that he has been offered an explanation at one level only. Worsley does not give systematic consideration to the psychological dimensions of the cults, and his treatment of leadership in the movements is superficial. But the book is not the work of someone who has studied the movements in the field. It is based on documentary evidence, and where the analysis lacks depth, the fault most likely stems from inadequacies in the source materials. The professional reader will be indebted to Worsley both for the lucid

manner in which he presents his arguments and for bringing together, for the first time, a truly vast amount of data.

The term "cargo" cult has been used to designate a type of movement which has occurred widely throughout Melanesia during the past seventy years. While the cults emerge with numerous local variations, they also exhibit many common elements. They center upon a belief in some imminent supernatural intervention in the existing social order. God or the ancestors will return to the earth and will bring all the material goods (the "cargo") which people desire. In preparation for this event, people set about building storehouses, airfields, and jetties. They perform rituals which contain elements modelled on European secular and religious practices, and they develop an organization in which the leaders frequently adopt the titles of office-holders in the European power structure. They may also give up their normal economic pursuits and voluntarily abandon many of their customs and institutions.

Quite rightly, Worsley rejects the term "nativistic" which has been applied to these movements by other writers (notably by Linton). He points out that the cults are neither traditional nor European: they are part of a new social synthesis, pointing forward rather than backward into the past, and he calls them millenarian movements. This places them in the same category as movements which have occurred from time to time in Europe and in most other areas of the world; Worsley sets out to show that they originate under similar social conditions.

The explanation which he offers will not strike the anthropologist as new, but he has developed it more fully than any recent writer. Briefly, his thesis is that the "cargo" cults are a form of social protest on the part of a depressed class whose members are disenchanting with the existing order, but who lack the practical means of achieving their objectives. He points to the enormously inflated ambitions which the indigenous peoples of Melanesia have developed as a consequence of European contact, and to the acute frustrations which they experience under the present social system. Where there is this keen desire for material wealth, social equality, and political power, and where disabilities prevent the people from attaining such goals, the situation may reach "flash-point" and the millenarian "cargo" cult develops. Worsley points out that characteristically the anticipated "new order" is based on the inversion of present Black-White relationships.

In stressing the rationality of the movements, Worsley corrects those who have tended to explain them in terms of abnormal psychology. He shows that the supernatural millenarianism of the cults, and the sometimes humorous but often pathetic behavior of the participants, are perfectly understandable when they are related to the traditional world-view of Melanesian peoples and to their partial acquaintance with the European *milieu*. He also examines the processes whereby the essentially religious "cargo" cult may develop into a secular political organization.

Those who know Melanesia will agree that "cargo" beliefs are so prevalent in the area that they almost seem to be a part of the atmosphere. Dr. Worsley has given us an admirable analysis of the social conditions which "spark" the cults. But it is to be hoped that other anthropologists will have an opportunity to study the movements in the field. The retrospective accounts which supply much of the material for this book must be supplemented by the investigation of on-going movements.

KENNETH E. READ

University of Washington

Indian Shakers: A Messianic Cult of the Pacific Northwest. By H. G. BARNETT. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1957. 378 pp. \$5.75.

In the fall of 1881 John Slocum, a Squaxin Indian living on Puget Sound near Olympia, Washington, fell sick and apparently died. But during the wake, while the mourners were waiting for the coffin to arrive, Slocum revived in view of his wife and others gathered around the room in which his body lay covered with a sheet. He spoke of his death and how his soul

... had left his body and gone to the judgment place of God where it had been confronted by an angel who turned it away from the promised land. The error of his sinful life was revealed to him, and he was instructed to return to earth to bear witness to his transformation and to lead other sinners into the Christian way of life. It was, he said, for the purpose of carrying out this mission among the Indian people that he was granted a brief stay of ultimate death. He announced that a church must be built for him immediately and that he would begin his preaching at a stipulated time in the near future (pp. 6-7).

From this point of origin H. G. Barnett traces the history and provides the ethnography of the Indian Shakers of the Pacific Northwest with a rich and detailed description that is

based upon several seasons of field work and an exhaustive use of the ethno-historical data.

The account is a thoroughly absorbing one as Professor Barnett unfolds the story of the conditions of social and personal disorganization which paved the way for the initiation and growth of the cult; the hysterical seizure suffered by John Slocum's wife, Mary, which caused her to tremble violently and started off the "shaking" part of the cult's ritual pattern; the interesting synthesis that has emerged between aboriginal shamanistic and dance patterns and Christian elements.

If an unsophisticated observer should visit a Shaker church in the Pacific Northwest, or look at the photographs in Barnett's book, he might easily conclude that the church belongs to some small Christian denomination or sect that he doesn't know about in detail, but certainly some group that is Christian in origin. But after he witnessed a service and read Barnett's study the essentially aboriginal origin and character of many features of this American Indian religion would become abundantly clear to him. These cultural continuities from the past and the ways in which they have become combined and intertwined with Christian religion provide the most exciting data and pose the most interesting theoretical problems for students of social and cultural change. And Barnett handles these problems with superb skill in the context of this instance of cultural change.

What I miss most in the book is a sense of how these Indian Shaker data do, or do not, fit into our growing body of generalizations concerning messianic and nativistic cults. The book is not without theory; rather, it is studded with theoretical statements and implications throughout. But these statements are left imbedded in the text and are not systematically explored and related to the generalizations of Ralph Linton, Philleo Nash, Anthony Wallace—to mention only a few anthropologists who have written on these phenomena. Perhaps Barnett thought he had written enough about these problems in his book, *Innovation* (1953), but I do not think this work on Indian Shakers will be as useful as it could have been to professional anthropologists and sociologists had Barnett gone on to relate his detailed data to the growing body of theory (including his own theoretical propositions) on the subject.

However, as a history and ethnography of the Shaker movement, I predict that Barnett's book will stand as a classic for years to come.

EVON Z. VOGT

Harvard University

West African City: A Study of Tribal Life in Freetown. By MICHAEL BANTON. London: Oxford University Press, for the International African Institute, 1957. xvii, 228 pp. \$5.60.

In an earlier publication, *The Coloured Quarter*, M. P. Banton was concerned with immigrants, principally from the West Indies and West Africa, to Stepney in London's East End. In *West African City*—as the subtitle, "A Study of Tribal Life in Freetown," indicates—he again concentrates on the newcomers rather than the older town dwellers.

There are three dimensions to such studies: the culture of the host group; the culture of the groups from which the immigrants come; and the adaptations of the recent arrivals. With limited time and resources, the author could not cover all three extensively and yet he must convey a sense of each if the reader is to finish the book with a feeling of satisfaction. The natural focus is on the third item, adaptations to the town, because a full statement of the host culture would require a major study in itself, and the same treatment of the various cultures of the guest groups would present the same requirements multiplied by the number of groups concerned, plus a great deal more travel. However, unless some means are found to express the essence of the first two dimensions, the third cannot be understood.

There are important differences in the two cases. London, the city which is host to immigrants from the colonies, is known in the general outline of its structure and culture whereas Freetown, Sierra Leone, which has attracted many people from a more immediate hinterland, is known to far fewer readers. Thus in the London study, the reader can supply from his own knowledge some details of the culture with which the group under study is in contact; in the Freetown study the author has to make explicit whatever is to be understood. This means that a proportionately greater effort has to be made to fill in the background of his actual study.

In the published material from which he has to draw, Dr. Banton is unfortunate. The people who have established the *mores* of Freetown are known as Creoles and are descended from freed persons of color who had had some experience of western civilization in the New World or in England during the eighteenth century. Some historical study of this group has been done but the most extensive work, that of C. H. Fyfe, has not yet been published, and there has been virtually no sociological study of Creole life.

Under these circumstances it is surprising

that there is as much information about Creole customs as is actually given. The weakness of the Creole backdrop to "tribal life" is that its variability is not obvious. Those described are of the lower strata without the extent of the stratification of Creole society being indicated.

The tribal group which predominates in the town is the Timne. This again presents a difficulty in that there is little ethnographic documentation on this people. The Mende, who are known from the works of Kenneth Little, figure less prominently in this book. Here again Dr. Banton does a good job in the circumstances but it is inevitably rather thin. Thus on both sides we remain at a disadvantage in relating this study to other knowledge.

The actual survey of Freetown's tribal life is given in a series of tables on migration, housing, occupations, etc. which are amply discussed. Tribal headmen, voluntary associations, the household, and religious alignments are each considered in separate chapters. The author shows himself familiar with the writings on urbanization and on Sierra Leone, but the literature on acculturation is much more extensive than is indicated in his summary discussion (which, in fairness, may not have been intended to be exhaustive). Here is an anthropologist who has read widely in sociology as well and has good judgment in the choice of concepts and sensitivity in their use. This is a useful addition to the growing literature on African urbanization; further study of other aspects of Freetown and its hinterland by Dr. Banton or others will add to its value.

DANIEL F. McCALL

Boston University

His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh's Study Conference on the Human Problems of Industrial Communities within the Commonwealth and Empire: Oxford 1956. Vol. I: Report and Proceedings. xii, 338 pp. Vol. II: Background Papers, Appendixes and Index. viii, 339 pp. London: Oxford University Press, 1957. \$6.75 (both vols.).

These volumes have two important claims on our attention: as the record of a unique conference on the human problems of industrial communities, and for the specialized data found in many of the background papers and in some of the speeches given before the conference members. Had the conference been confined to the experience of mature industrial states such as Great Britain and, to a lesser degree, Canada and Australia, there would have been value in the observations—as, indeed, there is in the analyses from these sources. But

what makes this conference so distinctive, and the volumes so unusual, is that side by side with discussions of "The Look of Industry in Britain" are papers on "Work and Community in a Primitive Society" and "The New Dimensions of Woman's Life in India."

To take so broad a scope provides difficulties as well as stimulus. The twenty-six background papers reprinted in the second volume provide a fascinating array of material—ranging from specific analyses of particular situations to broad, general topics such as "The Will to Work"—but it takes a very sympathetic and long range view to find a common denominator among them. All of them have some relation, of course, to the broad problems with which the conference was concerned: human relations within industrial units, and the relations of industry to the community as a whole. But the general effect is a diffused one, particularly in comparison with a sharply etched paper such as Clyde Mitchell's "Africans in Industrial Towns in Northern Rhodesia," which documents the striking fact that while tribalism plays a significant role in the relations between Africans in an industrial context it is completely discarded in favor of trade unionism in their relations with Europeans.

The conference records in the first volume provide more of a sense of common problems and activities. The wide range of people holding important managerial, governmental, or trade union positions in different parts of the Commonwealth who were brought together for this conference had three types of experience between July 9 and 27, 1956. Meeting in Oxford under the Presidency of the Duke of Edinburgh, they were first of all subjected to a barrage of speeches whose total effect must have been somewhat overwhelming but which included at least one of great distinction: Sir Harold Hartley's "The Two Partnerships—Man with Man and Man with Nature." Divided into study groups, each with a diverse membership, the members then sallied forth on planned eight-day visits to industry, commerce, or mines. The spirit of mateship welded in each group must have contributed much to their mutual understanding but, beyond this, the experience gave industrialists and trade unionists alike a rounded picture of industrial situations such as few of them can have had before. Lastly, they returned to Oxford to hear more speeches—among them a first class analysis of the South African situation by Harry Oppenheimer, now chairman of the Anglo-American Corporation of South Africa—and to draw up their reports.

Brief as are these reports, one notes common

echoes through them all: that elaborate welfare provisions, and high wages are not so important as personal contacts and concern in ensuring a healthy industrial situation. As the study group on family firms reported: it made little difference whether the family was a firm; it made all the difference whether the firm was a family. While the outsider is likely to be interested chiefly in the specialized material from his own field of study which he finds in these volumes, the participants in the conference must have gained most from the human experiences which they were afforded.

GWENDOLEN M. CARTER

Smith College

Quebec Now. By MIRIAM CHAPIN. New York: Oxford University Press, 1955. 185 pp. \$3.75.

Atlantic Canada. By MIRIAM CHAPIN. New York: Oxford University Press, 1956. 179 pp. \$3.50.

Quebec Now should not be neglected by sociologists for several reasons. French Canada is a living laboratory of the modern industrial revolution, with a unique variety of social patterns ranging from feudal and peasant remnants to metropolitan cities. It is also the prime center of Canadian resistance—such as it is—to the growing American domination of Canada. Americans ought to study Quebec, not to manipulate it better for their own ends, but to find alternatives to those ends.

Quebec communities have been analyzed by sociologists, notably Hughes and Miner. Mrs. Chapin's book differs from theirs in that it is a full-length portrait of the province. It is probably the best social analysis of Quebec yet produced. Why a writer who is not a professional sociologist can beat us at our own game is something for us to ponder. This book has implications for basic social theory and methodology.

Among its topics are interest groups, classes and political parties, women's roles, the Catholic Church, urban and rural problems, minorities, the arts, and literature, both English and French. We see Quebec as a changing whole. Perhaps that is the secret of its insight and its realism. It does not try to compress a dynamic social reality into the static categories of orthodox structural-functional sociology.

Atlantic Canada is a lesser work, probably because the maritime provinces are less distinctive communities than Quebec, and perhaps because the author has lived and worked in them much less than in Quebec. A general essay on the region is followed by chapters on each of the four provinces. In its interweaving of eco-

nomic, political and other aspects of maritime social life, this book is another fine example of reporting in depth.

These works are relevant for such fields as regional culture, social change, classes, minorities, and conflict. Their simple but salty style makes them especially suitable for undergraduate reading. They show us that, with a dynamic and realistic approach, competent social analysis can be written for both specialists and laymen at once, without resorting to professional jargon that often obscures more than it reveals, and without condescendingly writing down to the supposed level of the nonprofessional reader.

That the publisher permitted these books to be issued without maps and without indices is hard to understand.

ARTHUR K. DAVIS

University of Vermont

A History of English Criminal Law and Its Administration from 1750. By LEON RADZINOWICZ. New York: The Macmillan Company. Vol. 1: *The Movement for Reform 1750-1833*, 1948. xxiv, 853 pp. \$15.00. Vol. 2: *The Clash Between Private Initiative and Public Interest in the Enforcement of the Law*, 1957. xvii, 751 pp. \$15.00. Vol. 3: *Cross-currents in the Movement for the Reform of the Police*, 1957. xxvii, 688 pp. \$15.00.

This three-volume work is the outgrowth of at least two decades of painstaking documentary research. Its significance to Anglo-American legal literature cannot be overestimated. Where most criminal law history is expounded after consulting statutes and court decisions, these volumes rely most heavily upon reports of British commissions and investigating committees, parliamentary debates, annual reports of governmental bureaus, and other state papers. "Popular" sources, such as newspapers and magazines, were also extensively utilized, as were collections of letters. Thus, the author's concern is for reporting "the gradual growth of public opinion which has led to the reforms brought about by modern criminal legislation," rather than for chronicling technical changes in criminal law.

Volume 1 is devoted to the trend away from extensive use of capital punishment and is divided into five principal parts: Capital Punishment in the Eighteenth Century Criminal Law, Administration of Statutes Imposing Capital Punishment, Leading Currents of Thought on the Principles of Punishment, The Beginnings of the Movement for Reform of the Criminal Law, and the Growth of the Movement for Reform.

Volume 2 is an account of English reluctance to adopt any but a weak machinery for keeping the peace, and of connivance at crime on the part of the early police, many of whom were used only for protection of particular interests and in special circumstances. Part IV of this volume reports on the first steps toward centralization and governmental control of police. Volume 3 documents "the conflict between centralization, preached in the name of efficiency and economy, and traditional local control, defended in the name of freedom." Each volume has appendices containing the texts of the principal legal documents, speeches, laws, letters, and other materials used. Bibliographies in the three volumes cover a total of more than 180 pages.

Perhaps the best statement of the author's thesis is on p. 24 of Volume 1: "Whether severe or lenient, rational or ineffective, the criminal law at any period of any country's development is the outcome of the interplay of many complex factors. Any judgment passed upon it which does not take fully into account the nature and effect of these factors must necessarily be both misleading and inaccurate." This seems to imply that the research will be sociological and will involve correlating changes in criminal law and its administration with changing social, political, religious, or economic conditions in the nation. However, the scholarly procedure implied in the statement is not explicitly carried out. Little attention is given to social conditions producing changes in criminal law. For example, a chapter on "the climate of opinion" reports the opinions of interested legislators, members of organizations such as the Society for the Reformation of Manners, and influential judicial authorities, rather than those of ordinary citizens. More generally, there is concentration on the writings and speeches of the dominant persons arguing for and against criminal law changes (for instance, Bentham, Fielding, Peel, Romilly), but there is little concern for the actual factors leading to acceptance or rejection of the arguments proposed. The volumes contain reports of the riots and infamous crimes which were the immediate stimuli to modification of some laws, but the work is scarcely a sociological treatise in the sense, say, of Ranulf's *Moral Indignation and Middle Class Psychology* or Rusche and Kirchheimer's *Punishment and Social Structure*.

As a history, in the traditional sense of the word, the work is unsurpassed. Undoubtedly it will become a classic in legal history. This will be a tribute to the author's industry, scholarship, and meticulousness, which have pro-

vided us with a new wealth of data for sociological analysis.

DONALD R. CRESSEY

University of California, Los Angeles

Archaeology and Society: Reconstructing the Prehistoric Past. By GRAHAME CLARK. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1957. 272 pp., 52 text figs., XXIV pls. plus frontispiece. \$5.00.

This is the third (and first American) edition of a very good introduction to the discipline of prehistoric archeology. How the *primary documentation* of prehistory is discovered, reclaimed, and interpreted is Clark's interest, rather than a descriptive account of culture-historical development itself à la V. Gordon Childe. Prehistory in England (Clark is professor of archeology at Cambridge University) is departmentalized under the humanities, but Clark thinks and communicates much more readily with our social sciences than do most of his British colleagues.

This book clearly outlines for us the relative order of completeness (or incompleteness!) of the primary archeological record, surveys the different categories of documents and the means by which they may be made to tell their full culture-historical story, and suggests the types of pitfalls in interpretation which beset synthesizers. *Archaeology and Society* is a sophisticated job, done by an excellent dirt archeologist and thoughtful interpreter; it is not always completely easy reading, but it is the "grain of salt" with which any synthesis of prehistory should be taken.

There is probably no more lucid or positive consideration of the role of archeology in modern society than that contained in Clark's last chapter. He admits, in his preface, to being now able to take a more detached view than was the case in "the angry era of Fascists, Nazis, and Stalinists" when this well known chapter was first written. He does, however, retain enough of his earlier delineation of the nefarious nationalist or racist perversions to which prehistory has been put to carry his point—the prehistorically well informed citizen need not fall prey to such notions as "the doctrine of the eminence of the Germans at the dawn of civilization." Clark believes a sense of history, in its broadest meaning, to be a potent factor in the broadening social integration which our modern world needs. To the degree to which interest in history can become universal and culture-historical rather than simply a parochial concern with political history or the history of the *élite*, the more gain in

social integration. Prehistoric archeology tempts the popular imagination, and, fortunately, its boundaries only rarely correspond to those of modern nationalisms. The account of the human struggle through tens and hundreds of thousands of years stimulates both awe and humility, and Clark would capitalize on this temptation which archeology has for the popular imagination.

The extent to which the popular imagination may be tempted is reflected by the book trade, with its present deluge of "romances of archeology," potboiled by ill-informed journalists for otherwise reputable publishers who know a good beat when they see one. It is thus a great pleasure to welcome this new and handsome edition of a really good book on archeology, by a man who understands what he is talking about.

ROBERT J. BRAIDWOOD

University of Chicago

The City in Mid-Century: Prospects for Human Relations in the Urban Environment. Edited by H. WARREN DUNHAM. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1957. ix, 198 pp. \$4.00.

The book contains the 1955-56 Leo M. Franklin Memorial Lectures in Human Relations, given at Wayne State University. Five experts discuss selected problems of the contemporary American city. The audience apparently consisted of highly educated, civic-minded persons, but not necessarily of students of sociology. Consequently the lectures are non-technical in nature and the specialist will find little that is new to him. The book shows all the advantages and disadvantages of a symposium. There is no system; the lectures are not related to each other; the lecturers are hampered by time limitations and have to present their cases with too little factual corroboration. On the other hand, the speakers can omit tedious discussions of details and can concentrate on essential problems. Five papers were read: J. S. Sert discussed "The Architect and the City," J. D. Lohman, "Political Apathy—Functions of Urban Transition," W. F. Cottrell, "The City in the Age of Atoms and Automation," C. Woodbury, "Human Relations in Urban Redevelopment," and H. W. Dunham, "The City: A Problem in Equilibrium and Control." With the exception of Dunham, no speaker supplied bibliographical references.

For reasons of space it is not possible to review all the lectures. Omission implies no criticism; on the contrary all papers deserve a thorough discussion. The only disappoint-

ment is Sert's contribution. Very likely Sert is the most outstanding expert in his field, equally original in thought and in execution. Ability and reputation, however, are no substitute for a good lecture. What Sert did was to indulge in generalities, already known to every layman who has read an article on city planning. That the handicaps of a symposium do not prevent a lecturer from presenting original ideas is shown by Lohman. He discusses three different subjects: urban blight, racial conflicts, and police administration. Lohman is particularly qualified to deal with these problems as he is a thinker as well as a doer; in all three fields he has been active in some official capacity. Unfortunately he has just twenty-five pages to deal with very intricate and complex matters, which forces him to cut his evidence to the bone. As the lecture stands it is not possible to examine the soundness of his arguments as thoroughly as they deserve; it only can be hoped that he will publish a broader presentation of his sometimes unorthodox views. After N. Strauss denounced the "Seven Myths of Housing," Lohman attacks seven myths in race relations, challenging some opinions which have become widely accepted stereotypes. Among the myths—to mention only two—are the notion "that logic and information can improve race relations," and the opinion "that we cannot legislate beliefs."

Professor Dunham, the chairman of the program, gave the final lecture, a general review of all main problems. I have never read a clearer exposition, concise yet comprehensive, and taking a firm, unequivocal stand on controversial issues. I may be prejudiced because I share Dunham's views in many instances, for example, his doubts about the "garden city" concept, the value of anonymity in big cities, and the connections between "neighborliness" and "provincialism." At any rate, to read his paper was sheer pleasure.

EGON E. BERGEL

Springfield College

The Growth of a Science: A Half-Century of Rural Sociological Research in the United States. By EDMUND DE S. BRUNNER. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1957. x, 171 pp. \$3.00.

An achievement of no mean order is this small and readable book which manages to give an overview of a discipline which has produced over one thousand studies in its fifty years of development. Two approaches to such a venture suggest themselves: a chronological unfolding, and a subject matter arrangement. The book is a compromise, marking off as it

does four main eras of development and treating the studies on a subject-organized basis. The first of the developmental eras lasted up until the passage of the Purnell Act, the second until the great depression, the third until the end of World War II, and the fourth until the present. The following chapter headings constitute the topics: Community Studies; Population Research; Research on Social Institutions; Research in Social Institutions; Research in Rural Social Organizations; Sociological Aspects of Economic Problems; Regionalism, Suburbanism, Trends and Values; and, Retrospect and Prospect.

A fellow rural sociologist reading the book tends to think immediately of the comprehensiveness and classifications of subject matter and of the inclusions and omissions of rural sociologists, both present and past, whose works comprise the "meat" of this volume. The brief treatment of cooperatives is noted, but omitted are the studies of the various farmers' organizations and of the farmers' movements as led by Carl C. Taylor (whose substantial contribution to regional studies is also missed). Studies of land division and relevant groupings as led by T. Lynn Smith also fail to appear. The inclusion of the family in the chapter on institutions rather than in the chapter on social organizations will perhaps surprise readers accustomed to differentiating social systems such as the family from such institutions as private property, parenthood, or marriage which function to produce normative behavior for systems and their members.

The author purposely avoids any attempt to be comprehensive; rather, he tries to be selective, the selectivity being based not on the necessarily superior work of a given subject or a given period, but rather on the typical representation of subject treatment for a given period. No doubt each reader will react by thinking of certain omissions which he himself would have included. Had this manuscript been circulated for reactions before publication, for example, this reviewer would have added to *The Culture of a Contemporary Community* series of the U. S. Department of Agriculture (which footnote 19, pp. 26 and 27 of the present volume purports to cite completely by an enumeration of the titles in the series) the one omitted title: *El Cerrito, A Study of a Spanish Speaking Village in New Mexico*; the erroneous citation elsewhere (p. 38) in the volume which describes El Cerrito as an "Indian community" would also have been corrected. Another omission noted by this reviewer was *Rural Social Systems and Adult Education* (Michigan State University Press, now in its 2nd edition).

The most serious shortcoming of the book is the absence of a bibliography, which is omitted on the grounds that the recent 100 page mimeographed bibliography by W. A. Anderson makes a separate bibliography for this volume unnecessary. Although the bibliography compiled by Anderson is remarkable and includes some forty-six subject areas it does have important omissions which cannot be explained by the necessity for selectivity. Most of the omissions mentioned in connection with the Brunner book occur also in the Anderson bibliography although the latter attempts to be inclusive. Perhaps rural sociologists will send "complete information on researches that have not been included"—as requested to Anderson.

The criticisms contained in this review should not detract from the basic achievement represented in this book by an author who is one of the true fathers of rural sociology and who during the past half century has been one of its active investigators. Certainly the next fifty years will witness more rural sociological activity than the last, and it is to be hoped that both Brunner and Anderson will keep their respective overview and bibliography up to date.

CHARLES P. LOOMIS

Michigan State University

Sociology of Deviant Behavior. By MARSHALL B. CLINARD. New York: Rinehart & Company, Inc. 1957. xxi, 599 pp. No price indicated.

"This book," the author tells us in the first sentence of his brief preface, "is written as a text for courses usually designated as 'social problems,' 'social disorganization,' 'social pathology' . . . I have tried to deal with certain deviations from social norms which encounter disapproval and to which concepts derived from sociology and social psychology may be applied. . . . [Problems] primarily of concern to economics, political science, or public health are not discussed."

In a book of three parts and twenty chapters Clinard deals with eight "problems": Delinquency and Crime, Drug Addiction, Alcohol Drinking and Alcoholism, Mental Disorders, Suicide, Marital and Family Maladjustment, Role and Status Conflict in Old Age, and Discrimination against Minority Groups.

In Part I (Social Deviation) the author insists that deviant behavior is not "different" behavior but merely ordinary behavior pushed to an extreme, and that urbanism as a way of life accounts for more of it than one can

explain by non-existent human instincts, by guesses about hereditary influences, physical peculiarities, and glands, or by differences in intelligence. He finds that poverty and sub-standard housing do not directly cause deviant behavior but act indirectly, mainly through the social roles required and the individual's conception of himself. The effects of feeble-mindedness, body type, and psychiatric involvements do not shake Clinard's conviction that urbanism has more to do with deviant behavior than these culture-ignoring "explanations." He also has little use for social lag as an explanation of anything.

In Part II (Deviant Behavior) Clinard devotes four chapters to delinquency and crime. First, he distinguishes crime as "a violation of the criminal law" from mere law-breaking. Then he traces the sources of delinquent and criminal attitudes to traits in the general culture, to criminaloid families and neighborhoods, and to social roles and self-conceptions acquired mainly through differential association and through identification with deviant norms.

His distinguishing contribution at this point is his classification of criminals in terms of their distinctive "behavior systems" instead of their crimes. Clinard's classification of "Types of Criminal Behavior" (p. 201), running from Individual Types at one extreme to Career-Criminal Types at the other, embraces: (1) The Criminally Insane, (2) Extreme Sex Deviates, (3) Occasional Offenders, (4) Prostitutes and Homosexuals, (5) Habitual Petty Criminals, (6) White Collar Criminals, (7) Ordinary Criminal Careers—young gangsters, etc., (8) Organized Criminals—the "feudal hierarchy of crime . . . crime as a business, etc."—and (9) Professional Criminals—pickpockets, bank-robbers, confidence men, etc.

The rest of Part II is taken up with chapters on Drug Addiction, Alcohol, The Functional Mental Disorders, Suicide, Marital and Family Maladjustment, Role and Status Conflict in Old Age, Minority Groups, and Discrimination and Prejudice.

The final 80 pages of the book (Part III) contains chapters on The Reduction of Deviant Behavior, Organized Public Education, The Group Approach to Social Reintegration, and The Effect of War on Deviant Behavior.

By and large, Clinard has written a good book for his purpose. He brings together the pertinent research in each field; each chapter closes with a brief summary and a list of selected readings—most of them very much to the point; the book itself has useful subject and author indexes. The weakest aspect of it is Part III, Deviant Behavior and Social Con-

trol. Trying to cover all sorts of deviant behavior, from crime to old age and discrimination against minority groups, Clinard inevitably has to spread his discussions of prevention pretty thin. But for the social problems dealt with, he has done a good job as a sociologist.

L. J. CARR

University of Miami

Modern Courtship and Marriage. By E. E. LEMASTERS. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1957. xii, 619 pp. \$5.50.

LeMasters' text has the virtue of putting the processes of courtship and marriage in sociological perspective. He formulates his concepts and defines his terminology quite clearly, and his work is not characterized by an overabundance of case histories, graphs, and tables. Best of all, he provides a comprehensive bibliography on practically all aspects of his subject. But, despite these virtues, *Modern Courtship and Marriage* is disappointing in a sense because it really offers nothing new. True, this work has three chapters not to be found in the usual functional text in the marriage area. These chapters—"Pinning," "How the Other Half Lives: Subculture of the Male," and "For Men Only: Subculture of the Female"—could be genuinely valuable, but, unfortunately lacking in sufficient research data, LeMasters' analyses are necessarily impressionistic and lack cogency. Perhaps the positive value of these chapters may very well be to point up the need for research in these specific areas.

Using the "functionalism" orientation of Radcliffe-Brown and Malinowski, LeMasters on the whole does a good job of integrating a substantial amount of research data into his analysis. The book is broken into three parts. In Part I the author gives the reader perspective by means of a definition of terms, an adequate description of the American marriage system, and a chapter on folklore which should help destroy many of the myths characteristic of the system.

Part II covers the American Courtship System. This section begins with a delineation of some of the broad aspects of the system, including a brief look at courtship in other societies. LeMasters then devotes one chapter to each of four of the five stages of courtship: "Random Dating," "Going Steady," "Pinning," and "Engagement" ("Group Dating" is the initial stage). A not unusual chapter on "Sex and Courtship" is followed by a consideration of "Courtship and Military Service" in which case material is relied upon rather heavily. This section in general is only fair. A redeeming

feature is the use and analysis of good research data, though in some instances (for example the "Going Steady" chapter) the author generalizes far beyond the limitations of the research data cited.

In this reviewer's opinion, the last section, *Marriage in Modern Society*, is by far the best part of the book. In addition to the standard chapters on personality factors, family background, in-laws, sex adjustment, and so forth, the author includes throughout these chapters analyses of the many subcultures (for example, class, religion, and ethnic) which tend to have an effect on marriage. Subtle differences, usually not brought to light in such texts, are pointed up and integrated with the more obvious differences to give the student a perspective usually left for the instructor to impart. Noteworthy in this respect are his discussions of social class and the working wife.

In summary, the weaknesses pointed out in this book are characteristic of most books in this area but the author's style, his integration of material, and his ability to combine a sensitivity to the problems of young married people with the most recent research data, more than compensate for its weaknesses.

EDWARD Z. DAGER

Purdue University

Propaganda. By LINDLEY FRASER. New York: Oxford University Press, 1957. ix, 218 pp. \$1.20.

This is a series of discussions of national and international political propaganda apparently intended to be on a common-sense level. Fraser goes through the routine, common to such books, of noting how many famous historic documents had propagandistic roles; he then writes about propaganda efforts during the first and second world wars, with special attention to British, Nazi, and Soviet ideologies and strategies. Because of his own war-time involvement in broadcasting as chief commentator of the BBC German Service, 1939-45, this aspect is somewhat better covered than others, but it suffers from his closeness to it and from his sense of discretion. His discussions of German and Russian propaganda are his more accurate and useful chapters, but these, like the rest of the book, are marred by lack of objectivity and lack of acquaintance with social science literature.

To broaden his scope, Fraser adds chapters on the relations of propaganda, education, and the writing of history, and on commercial propaganda. He makes no reference to systematic theories of content analysis or strategy analysis, to the findings of pollsters and opinion surveys, to the conclusions of students of rumor, to relations described by social scientists among leaders, groups, opinions, and actions.

What generalizations Fraser has are most commonly rather hackneyed ones with regard to strategy. For example: "You may safely and profitably offer direct answers to the enemy under two circumstances and two circumstances only. One is 'from strength' . . . the other is 'from weakness.'" "Do not give publicity to enemy propaganda unless it is unavoidable."

Thus, except for his more recent factual illustrations, Fraser's book has about it a curious sense of theoretical antiquity. This sense is amplified by his references to "instinctive" beliefs in peace and democracy and to "the instinct of self-defence." He is intrigued by the problem of getting history, and especially public school history texts, "removed from the sphere of international psychological warfare." He does not mention how this could be accomplished in the case of Irish-English differences, and he admits the problem vis-à-vis Russia is rather complicated by Russian bigotry. He also announces, just as blandly, that advertisers support daily newspapers without concerning themselves about editorial policies; they are only interested in the size of a paper's circulation. He is also an admirer of outdoor advertising and the "ever-increasing extent" to which users of this medium have found "aesthetically pleasing or amusing forms."

In his last chapter, Fraser offers two major conclusions. One is that propaganda is a kind of burning-glass which focuses popular attention, no more and no less. The other is that in propagandistic operations, no doubt as elsewhere in society, honesty is the best policy, the most effective one. He is not very clear, unequipped as he is with sociology or psychology, as to of just what "honesty" consists.

The author himself characterizes this book as "scrappy history married to unsystematic analysis," and this is what it is.

ALFRED MCCLUNG LEE

Brooklyn College

BOOK NOTES

The Collective Dream in Art. A Psycho-Historical Theory of Culture Based on Relations between the Arts, Psychology and the Social Sciences. By WALTER ABELL. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1957. xv, 378 pp. + 39 plates. \$7.50.

The late Professor Abell, an art historian, offers here a most ambitious attempt to synthesize aesthetics, art history, psychology and social science. His thesis is that art is a projection of the psychic state(s) of the society which produces it; this psychic state is, in turn, the product of interacting historical-material circumstances, environmental givens, and raw human nature. By studying the art of a particular time and place, we will gain access to the collective psychic realities for which it stands.

He calls his theory "psycho-historical" and seems to intend by this a linkage between history and a hybrid of Durkheim's collective representations and Jung's collective unconscious. Certainly he imbues the group with the psychological attributes of the individual. In the first part of the book, the theory is set forth. In the second part, it is applied to medieval Western culture and a reconstruction of its "lost backgrounds." Finally, Professor Abell develops some of the larger implications of his theory.

This ambitious effort is subject at many points to searching and critical questions by students of art or of society or of human behavior. The limited demonstration offered does not constitute an adequate practical case for the fruitfulness of the theory. But the most serious failure of the work, considering our present meager achievement in art-and-culture studies, is the failure to accompany this grand theoretical synthesis with an explicit methodology on the basis of which others might both extend the empirical basis of the theory and put it to a test.—MORTON H. LEVINE

The Structure and Policy of Electronic Communications. By DALLAS W. SMYTHE. Bulletin Series: Number 82. Urbana: University of Illinois, Bureau of Economic and Business Research, 1957. 103 pp. \$1.50, paper.

In less than a hundred pages of text the author has presented a lucid and instructive account of the organizational development and current structure of both national and international electronic communications systems.

The purpose of the monograph "is to demonstrate that (1) The technological imperative in telegraphy and telephony resulted in an articulated structure of organization and operation, both within nations and internationally; (2) The addition of radio communications to the wire telegraph and wire telephone . . . intensified this technological imperative and added an inevitable element of centralization of control both within and between nations; and (3) The economics of the radio spectrum compels unified international and intranational planning to function passably well, considering the near-infinite range of conflicting demands for the use of the spectrum, the technical limitations on its use, and the high policy considerations which are its politico-economic context" (p. 7).

The treatment of these themes includes chapters on the unification of wire-telegraphy, unification and assimilation of wire-telephony, the nature and scope of radio services, the organization of radio services, international unification of organization for radio services, theory of radio spectrum allocation, the emergence of international radio allocation policy, and the unification of international radio allocation policy following World War II.

The book is a valuable addition to the growing, but still scarce, literature on the organization of the mass media internationally. It also might be of special interest to political sociologists, since it represents a case study of international accommodation.—CHARLES R. WRIGHT

Mental Deficiency: In Relation to Problems of Genesis, Social and Occupational Consequences, Utilization, Control, and Prevention. By J. E. WALLACE WALLIN. Brandon, Vermont: Journal of Clinical Psychology, 1956. xv, 200 pp. \$5.00.

The secondary title of this book on mental deficiency gives its blueprint in brief. It is a comprehensive digest of information, aims, and methods in relation to the basic problems of mental deficiency. Mr. Wallin takes a broad field approach, resting his analyses, suggestions, and conclusions on a multi-dimensional base: biological, psychological, and sociological.

The blueprint is amplified and applied in six chapters: Chapter I, The Fecundity of the Mentally Deficient; Chapter II, The Relation of Mental Deficiency to Defective Progeny; Chap-

ter III, The Relation of Mental Deficiency to Criminality and Sex Delinquencies; Chapter V, The Socio-Occupational Efficiency of Mental Deficients and Alcoholism Among Them; and Chapter VI, Ultimate Aims of Constructive Work in the Field of Mental Deficiency and Retardation. These chapters are made additionally valuable by the selected bibliographies at the ends of the chapters.

The book is a generally sound, concise, reference and source book for students and investigators alike. It is more optimistic than is much contemporary psychological and psychiatric thought in this field. It can be used profitably for supplementary reading in psychology, education, sociology, social service, genetics, and medicine (especially for psychiatry and public health administration).

The author's companion books, *Children with Mental and Physical Handicaps* (1949), and the *Education of Mentally Handicapped Children* (1955), along with the present volume, form a trilogy, each volume dealing with different aspects of a unitary problem, or of closely related problems. They represent a broader orientation to the problems of mental deficiency than do such monographs as Sarason's on *Psychological Problems in Mental Deficiency*, with its predominantly single discipline approach.—FLETCHER MCCORD.

The Eternal Stranger: A Study of Jewish Life in the Small Community. By BENJAMIN KAPLAN. New York: Bookman Associates, 1957. 198 pp. \$4.00.

The new contribution of this book to knowledge about Jewish life in the United States is contained in the chapters which trace the development of Jewish group life in three small Louisiana towns. Preceding this material are three chapters of general discussion of Jewish life in this country. A final chapter relates the findings of the small town studies to the general national situation. The empirical material derives from interviews, case histories, population data, and participant observations. Because of the thinness and unevenness of the data acquired, the conclusions rely heavily on the author's interpretative judgment.

Kaplan's main conclusion is that, in small towns having Jewish populations, Jewish subcommunities will disappear. He finds that the continuance of a distinctive Jewish community depends upon the vitality of the traditional Jewish institutions: the synagogue, auxiliary organizations, and a Jewish educational program. The tendency is for the Jewish communal organization and for Jewish people to shed, piece-

meal, elements stemming from the traditional religious basis and to replace them with elements conforming to American standards. This secularizing process spells ultimate disappearance of Jewish group life. Conditions found to favor a stronger community organization are: a larger Jewish population, a high proportion of young married couples, a relatively larger number engaged in the professions in comparison with the characteristic business occupation, and the presence of a larger number of leaders who "still feel that Jewishness still has worth in the world."

Little material is presented as to either the presence or absence of anti-Jewishness among the gentiles in these small southern towns. No overt hostility is indicated. The absence of this appears to accelerate the decline of Jewish group life. However, except where intermarriage leads to absorption into Christian families, Jews experience a subtle minority status, or, as the title suggests, are still thought of as strangers.

—CHARLES F. MARDEN

Yivo Annual of Jewish Social Science. Vol. XI. New York: Yivo Institute for Jewish Research, 1956-1957. 302 pp. No price indicated, paper.

This volume includes an even dozen essays on various phases of Jewish life and thought. From a sociological point of view, the outstanding essay is Boris M. Levinson's "The Socio-Economic Status, Intelligence and Personality Traits of Jewish Homeless Men." It is the result of a study conducted in the summer of 1955 of eight homeless Jews in the Men's Shelter of the New York City Department of Welfare. Levinson presents several case histories as well as a great deal of social and psychological data bearing upon his subject. One of his interesting points is that the non-Jewish homeless men had a higher IQ than the Jewish homeless, a rather unexpected datum. He suggests the possibility that "below-average intelligence was an important contributing factor in making it difficult for the homeless Jews to make a satisfactory adjustment."

The sociologist of ethnic groups will find valuable material in Rudolf Glanz's "German Jews in New York City in the 19th Century," a study of the social, economic, political, and cultural activities of the German Jews, their relationships with non-Jews, and the economic competition between the two groups which sometimes resulted in anti-Semitic attacks in newspapers and books.

"The Impact of the Nazi Occupation of Poland on the Jewish Mother-Child Relation-

ship," by Renee Fodor, has some interesting data on changing family patterns in the midst of a war of extermination.—LOUIS RUCHAMES

there might be an optimum psychological distance between the leader and the group members in regard to the group's effectiveness.—HARVEY BURDICK

Leader Attitudes and Group Effectiveness. By FRED E. FIEDLER. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1958. 69 pp. \$1.75, paper.

Fiedler has organized the results of various studies which have been conducted as part of a six-year research project. For those interested in leadership but weary of perusing a multitude of statistically significant low correlations between leader characteristics and group effectiveness, this small book makes refreshing reading. Fiedler has been able to predict effective groups and the varying effectiveness of a given group, by tying together (1) the sociometric choice of an informal leader or the degree of acceptance of a formally designated leader, (2) a trait of the accepted leader (ASo) determined by a difference score between his estimations of his least and most preferred co-workers, and (3) the leader's sociometric endorsement of that group member who is the key man in getting the job done. Although Fiedler claims that ASo is not a leadership trait, he does suggest that "... ASo can serve as a useful predictive device for potential leaders who are otherwise qualified."—HARVEY BURDICK

Leader Behavior: Its Description and Measurement. Edited by RALPH M. STODDILL and ALVIN E. COONS. Research Monograph No. 88, Ohio Studies in Personnel. Columbus: The Bureau of Business Research, The Ohio State University, 1957. xiv, 168 pp. No price indicated, paper.

This monograph consists of 12 articles tracing the development and application of a questionnaire which purports to describe the leadership behaviors of individuals directing the activities of groups. A factor analysis of the original scale resulted in the isolation of two major factors. The substantive part of the monograph consists in relating the factors of "Consideration" and "Initiating Structure" to various group measures. One gets the impression of a highly reliable scale resulting from an intensive and careful analysis, but also of a scale which has not as yet shown significant relations with other measures. Although a number of statistically significant relations were obtained, the correlations tend to be low. It is interesting that the characteristics of Consideration and Initiating Structure have been noted by other investigators; this suggests that

Soviet Youth: Some Achievements and Problems. Excerpts from the Soviet press, edited and translated by DOROTHEA L. MEEK. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, Ltd., 1957. 251 pp. U. S. distributor, The Humanities Press. \$5.50.

At a time when Soviet youth is receiving so much attention both from the regime and from foreign observers, many readers may be attracted by the title of this book. In it, Meek has edited and translated excerpts from Soviet publications, ranging in subject matter from programs for pre-school children to married life. The original articles appeared between 1948 and 1955. The author prefaces each of four sections with a brief historical summary.

For those who do not have occasion to consult Soviet newspapers or journals (or English translations of them in the *Current Digest of the Soviet Press*), this volume affords a convenient, if limited, sampling of the content of the Soviet youth program and of the difficulties by which it is chronically plagued. Specialists, on the other hand, will find nothing new either by way of materials or analysis.—A. K.

The Future of Socialism. By C. A. R. CROSLAND. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1957. 540 pp. \$7.00.

Mr. Crosland, both an academic economist and a former M.P., belongs to the Gaitskell wing of the Labour Party. In this book he argues that the pre-war categories, both Marxist and quasi-Marxist, do not apply in the post-war world. England can no longer be called a capitalist society in any sense of the term, and both experience and increasing economic sophistication indicate that the old panaceas and "catchwords" now have little relevance. The chances of a significant economic recession in the future are very slim; the dual problems of efficiency and economic growth, while important, no longer represent areas of major controversy. England is going to retain a mixed economy in which the power of the employers as a class will be relatively insignificant, having been effectively shattered by the growth of powerful trade unions and substantial changes in the attitudes of the electorate.

What then is to be the content of a socialist program? Mr. Crosland sees it as lying in two

directions: (1) greater equality and (2) social welfare. Both of these are to be achieved by a variety of specific measures, the most important of these being increased taxation, primarily on unearned incomes, and educational reform. The latter he sees as one of the keys to eliminating vestiges of social class.

In general the author opts for budgetary rather than monetary or physical planning, and an encouragement of devolution in the public sector; as he does not see the need for extensive, rapid nationalization, he devotes relatively little time to the problems of nationalized industry. Further, he does not even touch on problems of political organization, apparently accepting the political framework of the past two generations. In this area, at least, Mr. Crosland demonstrates less imagination than some of the younger Conservative theorists who are actively concerned with examining the adequacy of present constitutional procedures.—STANLEY ROTHMAN

Labor and the New Deal. Edited by MILTON DERBER and EDWIN YOUNG. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1957. xi, 393 pp. \$6.00.

As stated by the editors in the forward, *Labor and the New Deal* is "an endeavor to bring to college students, recent graduates, and other young men and women a realization of what present-day labor institutions owe to developments in the New Deal period;" it also seeks to provide perspective for those who lived through the happenings of those event-packed years. It does not attempt to be comprehensive nor does it purport to extend our factual knowledge of the period; rather it aims to interpret, to find pattern in the developments on the labor front during the '30s and '40s.

The volume is a collection of essays by ten observers of the labor movement. Chapters are: "Growth and Expansion [of Organized Labor]" by Milton Derber, "The Split in the Labor Movement" by Edwin Young, "The Impact of the Political Left" by Bernard Karsh, "The Significance of the Wagner Act" by R. W. Fleming, "New Deal Sensitivity to Labor Interests" by Murray Edelman, "Organized Labor and Protective Labor Legislation" by Elizabeth Brandeis, "Organized Labor and Social Security" by Edwin Witte, "Industrial Management's Policies Toward Unionism" by Richard Wilcock, "Collective Bargaining Developments" by Doris E. Pullman and L. Reed Tripp, and "Labor and the New Deal in Historical Perspective" by Selig Perlman.

Old as well as young students will find in *Labor and the New Deal* a highly useful summary of the growth and development of the labor movement during the Roosevelt years.—ELEANOR M. HADLEY

Pioneer of Sociology: The Life and Letters of Patrick Geddes. By PHILIP MAIRET. London: Lund Humphries, 1957. xx, 225 pp. 21s.

A quarter of a century has elapsed since the death of Patrick Geddes, the distinguished Scottish botanist turned city planner, but many of his basic ideas are as vital today as during his lifetime. Mairet's book, the third biography of Geddes, is revealing of the character and thought of this great scientist, humanitarian, teacher, and planner. To write a biography without merely repeating what has been written by earlier biographers is not easy; the attempt was justified on the grounds that a considerable body of fresh materials was made available. The author does a creditable job.

Geddes was certainly a pioneer, but not in sociology. Although he was familiar with all the sociological literature of his day—he appeared to be an admirer of Comte, though not of Spencer—his distinctive contribution was in the philosophy and techniques of city and regional planning. In this area he probably had no peer in his day. Geddes was trained in science, studying under Huxley and other eminent scholars; throughout most of his professional life he held the chair of botany at Dundee University. But early in his career he became vitally interested in the application of science to problems of human welfare. For him it was a logical step from the scientific laboratory and classroom to the larger laboratory of community and region. The shocking slum conditions under which the working people of England lived brought out his humanitarian sympathies, and he resolved to do something about it—not in a sentimental way but through reconstruction and planning. It was his philosophy that the natural and the social environments should be integrated so as to make possible a wholesome and pleasant milieu for the people.

There are many monuments to the intellectual and scientific stature of Geddes. Some of his plans were translated into concrete achievements; more often they were not. But in the planning of Edinburgh, the University of Jerusalem, and certain Indian cities his ideas are definitely apparent, though not in the form which he would have liked. Probably his influence was more intellectual and theoretical than applied, as evidenced by the re-publication, in 1949, of his *Cities in Evolution* (1915) and the

publication, in 1947, of *Patrick Geddes in India*, a volume of his writings and notes edited by J. Tyrwhitt.—NOEL P. GIST

Economic Backwardness and Economic Growth: Studies in the Theory of Economic Development. By HARVEY LEIBENSTEIN. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1957. xiv, 295 pp. \$6.75.

The fundamental question considered by this book is how countries move from a position of low per capita income to one of high (and rising) income. It is asserted that low-income countries tend to be in "quasi-stable equilibrium": though some components of the economy may change, the net effect of the changes is likely to be a per capita income that is more or less fixed. In countries with high levels of income, on the other hand, growth in per capita income is characteristic. To move an economy from the first of these categories to the second requires a "critical minimum effort" sufficient to break through the forces that perpetuate the low-income state.

A set of illustrative projections is adduced showing the effects of various alternative assumptions as to the behavior of certain key variables. Consideration is given to the implications of the analysis for investment policies.

The study is entirely theoretical in nature, couched largely in the vocabulary of economic theory and making liberal use of diagrams as a method of exposition. For sociologists who find this a congenial approach, the interest of the book will lie not only in the importance of the subject, but in the explicit recognition given to non-economic factors, though the latter are treated less intensively than matters that come within the usual range of economics. Attention may be directed particularly to Chapter 10, which attempts to provide a more complete theoretical description of the demographic transition than has been available. The contribution here is the orderly organization of a sometimes diffuse body of ideas.—G. F. M.

Human and Social Impact of Technological Change in Pakistan. A Report on a Survey conducted by the University of Dacca and published with the assistance of UNESCO. By A. F. A. HUSAIN. New York: Oxford University Press, 1957. Vol. I, xix, 404 pp. Vol. II, viii, 344 pp. \$2.65 (both vols.).

These volumes report investigations of rickshaw workers in Dacca City and of workers in nineteen factories throughout East Pakistan.

The factories included several types in urban, semi-urban, and rural areas; some of them were pre-partition and others relatively new. In addition to material derived directly from the survey, there is a wealth of background information.

Volume I describes the research techniques, and presents an extended discussion of the materials gathered by questionnaire and interview. While many more general questions are dealt with, it is the problems faced by individual factory workers which are of primary concern throughout the study. Appendices to this volume include the schedules used, eighty-four statistical tables (not all derived from the research), and a glossary of local terms used in the report.

Volume II contains summaries of sixty-eight case studies (that is, interviews) considered representative of individuals from varying social backgrounds. These case studies are of great interest.

The whole report invites comparison with other areas, notably parts of Africa.—A. H.

A Profile of Primitive Culture. By ELMAN R. SERVICE. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1958. xiv, 474 pp. \$6.00.

Twenty synoptic descriptions of a wide range of "cultures" are presented in this volume. The accounts are arranged in four sections (Bands, Tribes, Primitive States, and Modern Folk Societies), a typology which implies a scheme of societal no less than of cultural evolution. Eight "Tribes" are included, as against four sketches in each of the other sections. The groups are well selected from among those for which good materials are available, and are widely distributed geographically.

The accounts are clearly written, with good illustrations and diagrams; an end-paper map gives the location of each group, and there is a glossary of the technical terms used. It is convenient to have the dates for which the descriptions are valid clearly indicated. A list of further readings accompanies each sketch. This is a useful volume, to which beginning students in sociology may confidently be referred for accurate information giving a notion of the range of "cultural" (or societal) variation which exists or has existed.

One minor objection may be made: to many non-western peoples, including some very similar to those described in this volume, "primitive" is a pejorative term, and its use in the title is unfortunate.—A. H.

The Native Reserves of Natal. Natal Regional Survey, Vol. 7. By EDGAR H. BROOKES and N. HURWITZ. New York: Oxford University Press, 1957. ix, 195 pp. \$6.00.

In sixteen chapters this volume surveys history, administration, geography and agriculture, demography, economics, health, education, and welfare. The description is depressing, and the authors point out that, "A good Reserve policy, even the best imaginable, will not in itself solve the problem of race contact in our province" (p. 189).

When the Natal Regional Survey is complete, most of the evident omissions will presumably have been dealt with. There remain decided blemishes: (1) There are no maps showing the reserves and magisterial districts. (2) Thirty-two maps are undated. (3) Text, tables, and maps are not readily comparable. They ought to have been interrelated so as to reveal variations clearly.

Despite these shortcomings this is a substantial contribution to our information on the current life of Africans in South Africa.—A. H.

A Social Profile of Detroit: 1956. A Report of the Detroit Area Study of the University of Michigan. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1957. 83 pp. \$1.50, paper.

The fifth report of the Detroit Area Study offers materials derived from research carried out as part of a graduate training program in sociology and related fields at the University of Michigan. No single focus, except location, runs through this report, which contains data on residential mobility, income and labor force participation, working women, and attitudes toward various social and political issues. Although the findings are interesting, they either confirm well established empirical generalizations or are, in themselves, of minor importance. As a product of a continuing training program, the report is impressive, and very attractively printed. As a contribution to knowledge it is disappointing. Several footnotes, however, promise more sustained and sharply focussed analysis of problems treated briefly in the report.—E. C.

Samhällsplanering och regionsbildning i kejsartidens Helsingfors. [Social Planning and the Formation of Social Areas in Imperial Helsingfors.]. By SVEN-ERIK ÅSTRÖM. Helsingfors: Mercators Tryckeri, 1957. 375 pp. Fmk 2 500.

This book is a carefully documented history of the city of Helsingfors (Helsinki) from

1810 to 1910. Its interest to the sociologist lies in the author's explicit intent to put a number of sociological concepts to use in interpreting his findings.

The author postulates that historical situations are determined by the economic organization which may show different gradations between a capitalist and a socialist organization, by the social organization which may vary from stratified to egalitarian, by the political organization which presents the polar types of authoritarianism and liberalism, and by the technological organization which varies from pre-industrial to industrial. These variables, as well as the role of the city in the country, affect patterns of spatial differentiation. Both planning and spontaneous growth shape the ecological patterns of a city. The role of planning tends to be overlooked by urban ecologists, despite its primary importance as seen especially in the early 19th century Helsinki. The authoritarian capitalist system contributed to a city pattern where land values were high toward the center of the city and low in the peripheries. This made for a carefully drafted centric "stone city" and neglected, haphazard, peripheric poor people's quarters.

Later during the 19th century, the city planners had lost some of their authoritarian grip, but the new technology, especially the improved communication facilities, encouraged them to apply city planning in larger geographical areas. The commercial and industrial functions of the city were now also acknowledged in city planning.

The author adheres to a socio-cultural view on the ecological differentiation of a city. An historian with sociological leaning, he has offered a case study for the benefit of those of us who maintain that sociological generalizations should be accompanied by adequately stated cultural premises confining their scope in time and space. Scholars interested in urban ecology will find in the book detailed data on a European city since the first decades of the 19th century. A summary in English is provided.—SAKARI SARIOLA

Nonparametric and Shortcut Statistics in the Social, Biological, and Medical Sciences. By MERLE W. TATE and RICHARD C. CLELLAND. Danville, Illinois: Interstate Printers and Publishers, Inc., 1957. ix, 171 pp. \$3.95, paper, photo-offset.

It is now possible to teach students in two to three hundred pages to make efficient significance tests (see the book under review and the competitive book by Siegal, *Nonparametric*

Statistics for the Behavioral Sciences), but more than six hundred pages is required to make them wise statistically (see Wallis and Roberts, *Statistics: A New Approach*). If the student has been guided toward statistical wisdom, the present text is a next stage tool. It should be equally useful as a reference book for journeymen sociologists. This book is distinguished by straightforward examples, an authoritative familiarity with recent developments, and an avoidance of ritualistic, presumably non-mathematical, derivations. One obtains

more tests per dollar invested than in any comparable volume. It is strong on short-cut methods for use with parametric data. The volume is off-set from typescript and bound like a pocket-book, but unfortunately it is $8\frac{1}{2} \times 10\frac{1}{4}$ —that is, too large for maximum convenience. The examples are not restricted to the behavioral sciences, and those in sociology who appreciate the terse, direct approach will, at the same time, be impatient with the discussion of tumor-free drosophila and Jersey cows.—FRED L. STRODTBECK

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